



TITLE:

# Epilogue

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## Epilogue

### The Land

*Mirma* is the earliest mention of the name of Burmese in its ethnic sense and it was found in a *Mwan* inscription<sup>1</sup> (AD 1101) left by King *Thiluin* [Klanacsa 1084-1113] to describe how his palace was built. In *Mranma* inscriptions the earliest mention of the name *Mranma* was found in AD 11902. Later in about AD 1312<sup>3</sup> and in AD 1342<sup>4</sup> a variation *Mramma* appeared. The phrase *Mranma Pran* <sup>5</sup> found in AD 1235 inscription would mean the king's residential town rather than the country he ruled. Their "first home" <sup>6</sup> in the plains of the country now called the *Pran Thon Cu Mranma Nuin Nam* was *Kyok chan* area known as *Chai ta rwa* <sup>7</sup> which they occupied from about the middle of the 9th century AD<sup>8</sup>. Both the *Erawati* valley which was predominantly *Pyu* and the "railway valley" which was mostly *Mwan* were then in a state of collapse and it was not very difficult for them to seize these places. It was the Nanchao whose vanguards probably consisted a considerable number of these people generally mentioned as proto-Burmans invaded southeast Asia and destroyed the kingdoms of *Pyu* and *Mwan* in the said valleys in AD 832 and AD 835 respectively. *Chai ta rwa* Eleven Villages, were :

*Panlay*

*Planmana*

*Mlacs*a (the Pleasant River / *Pan:lon* )

*Ranun*

*Mrankhuntuin*

*Panan*

*Tamut*

*Santon*

*Makkhara*

*Taplaks*a and

*Khammhu*.

Only two names , *Mlacs*a (the Pleasant River) and *Mrankhuntuin* (Post to tether horse) and possibly two more, *Tamut* (Measure of the Fist) and *Santon* (Hill covered with *Clinogyne dichotama* ), are Burmese. This explains that the Burmese were not the original people who founded these villages and that they seized them from *Ksdu*., *Mwan*, *Rham*., etc. who had had developed theses areas for rice cultivation by irrigation long before they arrived on the scene. From these villages they went further south down the *Erawati* to occupy *Khrok kharuin* <sup>9</sup> (Six Villages). [Any six of these, viz. *Kyaksakuin*, *Kyanrap*, *Caku*, *Calan*., *Mapancara*, *Muruiw kun*, *Yapakaw*, *Rwasa*, *Lanmapla*, *Lankuin* and *O'luin* could have been the second group of villages they took in *Man:bhu*: area. Next to these they also took *Tonplun* <sup>10</sup> in *Man:tale*: area. These three areas, viz. *Kyokchan*, *Man:bhu*: and *Man:tale*: were known to them as *Kharuin* which seems to be a Nanchao Tai word<sup>11</sup> for a centre. These lands however were good for rice cultivation only by irrigation.

When the irrigated rice lands were extended they called the new areas *Tuik*. These additional lands were :

*Namsa* (*Mretu*:)

*Tamakha* (*Chitphru*)

*Pucaw* (*Calan*: *khyon*:)

Pankli (Cha:lan:kri:)  
Pancan (Tapayan:)  
Muchuiwkhnum (Muchui:khnum)  
Muchuiwphuiw (Rhwebhui)  
Munton (Pha Uin:) and  
Latuiw (Waklak).

Each of them coincided roughly with the modern place name given in parenthesis.

From Cakuin: the big river *Erawati* changes its course from north-south direction to east-west and land below this line was *Tampratit* 12. Opposite it was *Sunaparanta* 13.

After the fall of *Pukam* the Burmese continued to use the names of *Tampadipa* and *Sunaparanta* with a suffix *Tuin:* (Division) to each name. Major rice producing areas came to be known as *Twan:* 14 or the name that rhymes with it and thus there were

*Khyan:* *Twan:* (*Cakuin:* ), *Ca Lan:* (*Man:bhu:* ), *Ton Twan:* (*Makwe:* ) and *Lay Twan:* (*Man:tale:* ).

King *Satui: Man: Phya:* 1364-1367 built *Awa* on 1 February 1365<sup>15</sup> at the confluence of the *Erawati* and *Dutthawati* (*Mrac Nay*) rivers which was known until then as *Akhuwa chuim* 16 the Junction. He had to fight incessantly for three years to enlarge his domain<sup>17</sup> to include :

*Caku*

*Cakuin:*

*Nonram:*

*Takon:*

*Tapayan:*

*Talup*

*Tonnu*

*Tontwan:kri:*

*Tonprum:kri:*

*Pukhan:kri:*

*Pugam*

*Pok Mruin*

*Pran*

*Makkhara*

*Mretu:*

*Raman:san:*

*Relhwai Na Kharuin* (? *Man: Rwa,Thi: Lan:, Cho, Yo* and *Lon Rhan*)

*Wati:* and

*Waran: tut.* [There was a total of nineteen places].

The land under the control of *Awa* grew considerably under the next king *Trya Phya III* (*Man: Kri: Cwa Coau Kai*) 1367-1400. In 1400 the *Awa* kingdom included the following places<sup>18</sup>:

*Kan: Ni*

*Kyok Pan: Ton:*

*Khywan: Ton:*

*Cakuin:*

*Caku*

*Cale*

Calan:  
 Can, Ku:  
 Canputtara  
 Cansa  
 Na Can, Ku:  
 Na: Ra Nai  
 Non Ram:  
 Ta Kon:  
 Ta Pa Yan:  
 Ta Lup  
 Ton Nu  
 Ton Twan:  
 Thi: Lan;  
 Nat Mok  
 Pa Dum  
 Pathanaguir  
 Pukham: Kri:  
 Pukham: Nay  
 Pugam  
 Pan Lay  
 Pan: Ta Lai  
 Pran Can  
 Pran  
 Ban, Kyi Chay Tuik  
 Makkhara  
 Man: Tap  
 Man: Tum:  
 Mra Ton  
 Mre Thai  
 Mre Du:  
 Mran Cuin:  
 Yo  
 Yan: Toau  
 Ra Man: San:  
 Re Nam Khyon:  
 Rwa Sa  
 Lay Kuin:  
 Lon Rhan  
 Lhuin: Tak  
 Wati:  
 Sa Rak  
 Sagara  
 Sayawati and  
 Amran, [A total of fifty place names].

The war between *Awa* and *Hamsawati* was started in 1386 and it continued right down to 1422 but there was a truce in 1405 when the two kings met at the *Cham Toau Rhan* pagoda at *Pran* and decided to

erect one boundary pillar at *Tapon Taron* in the west and another one at *Chapaka* in the east to demarcate the land of *Mranma* on the north from that of *Tanluin*: in the south 19.

The two places mentioned would be immediately below *Pran* in the west and *Tonnu* in the east respectively. The fighting between the *Mranma* and *Tanluin*; did a lot of damage to cultivation in both kingdoms. In addition to this the *Rham*: in the far north were a constant threat to the *Mranma* of the centre. King *Narapati II* 1501-1527 was killed in battle on 9 March 1527<sup>20</sup> and his death marked the end of the first phase of *Awa* as the political centre. *Tonnu* became more powerful and King *Tapanrhewethi*: 1530-1551 went south from *Ton Nu* and conquered *Hamsawati* (*Tanluin* centre) in 1538. His successor *Hamsawati Chanphru Rhan* 1554-1581 took *Awa* on 22 January 1555 and built an empire. His son *Na: chu Tayaka* 1581-1599 lost it. But before the empire fell a record of 1593<sup>21</sup> gives a list of places that formed the =empire as follows :

*Kale*:

*Kasan*:

*Kampoja*

*Khanti*

*Khemawara*

*Khwe Lum*

*Canda*

*Cin*

*Jan Rum*

*Non Rhwe*

*Tamalitti*

*Tampadipa*

*Pat Kyuiw*

*Ban: Moau*

*Mahanaga(ra)*

*Muin: Khwan*

*Muin: Can*

*Muin: U*

*Muin: Pen*

*Muiw Kon:*

*Muie Nhan:*

*Muiw Na:*

*Muiw Nai*

*Muiw Mit*

*Muiw Wan:*

*Sipo*

*Sunaparam*

*Senwi and*

*Ayudaya* . (A total of twenty four names).

This list was made when the empire was on the verge of collapse. The king's own brother *Man: Rai Rantamit* who held *Non Ram* in fief went there in 1596 and made it strong to withstand sudden attacks<sup>22</sup>. Then he started seizing the surrounding area. He took *Awa* on 27 July 1597. An order was passed to rebuild it for making it a capital city again (ROB 12 July 1598). He proclaimed himself king of *Awa* on 13 February 1600.

Then he started conquering the *Rham*: in this order:

*Muiw Kon*:

*Muiw Nhan*:

*Non Rhwe*

*Ban*: *Moau*

*Muiw Nai*

*Muiw Brai*

*Caka*

*Rok Cok*

*Non Mwan*

*Muin*: *Pat*

*Muin*: *Kuin*

*Ti Kyac*

*Muiw Mit* and

*Sinni*.

His successor conquered south. The places were :

*Pran* (2 July 1608)

*Ton Nu* (24 August 1610)

*Sam Lyan* (18 March 1613)

*Hamsavati* (3 May 1613)

*Muttama* (7 November 1613)

*Tha*: *Way* (15 December 1613)

*Tanansari* (26 December 1613)

*Jan*: *May* (25 November 1614)

*Lan*: *Jan*: (26 November 1614) and

*San*: *Twai* ( September 1615).

In an inscription of 1650<sup>23</sup> the Kingdom of *Awa* was divided into ten *Tuin*: - Divisions, viz.

I *Kampoja Tuin*: (1) *Non Rhwe* (2) *Mui*: *Nai* (3) *Si Bo*

II *Khemawara* (1) *Kyuin*: *Tum*

III *Jeyawaddhana Tuin*: (1) *Ketumati* (2) *Jeyawati*

IV *Jin Tuin*: (1) *Khwe Lum* (2) *Canda* (3) *Ba Mau*

V *Tampadipa Tuin*: (1) *Pukam* (2) *Pan*: *Ya* (3) *Mran Cuin*: (4) *Awa*

VI *Maha Nagara Tuin*: (1) *Kyuin*: *Rum* (2) *Muin*: *Can*

VII *Ramanna Tuin*: (1) *Ku Sim* (2) *Da Gum* (3) *Dala* (4) *Muttima* (5) *Ron Mra* (6) *Hamsawati*

VIII *Sunaparanta Tuin*: (1) *Ka Le*: (2) *Ca Ku* (3) *CA Lan*: (4) *Phon*: *Lan*: (5) *Lay Kuin*: (6) *Son*: *Swap*

IX *Sirikhattara Tuin*: (1) *Pan*: *Ton*: (2) *Sarewkhettara* (3) *Udetarac*

X *Haripunja Tuin*: (1) *Kyuin*: *San* (2) *Jan*: *May*

The record adds a remark that as the territories were extensive, all the royal orders were at times issued in three languages of *Mranma*, *Taluin*: and *Ywan*:

To have the kingdom divided into eight to sixteen *Tuin*: Divisions, could possibly be an Indian idea<sup>24</sup> but the earlier practice of demarcation by economic zone like *Kharuin* (*Kharuin*) for 'areas of first settlement where rice was cultivated by irrigation' and *Tuik* for 'extensions of rice cultivation by irrigation' remained in use until the *Kun*: *Bhon* dynasty. Names might change for various reasons; new towns grew and some old places ceased to exist. For instance *Awa* was renamed *Rhwe Wa* (ROB 30 Aug 1598), *Ranun* became *Rwa Mum*

and *Tamut*, *San Ton*, *Taplaksa* and *Khamnhu* ceased to exist. Instead of former eleven villages *Lay Twan*: later had only nine, viz.

\**Co Lha*

*Panlay*

*Mrac Sa*:

*Pyan*: *Ma Na*:

\* *Mron Lha*

*Mran*: *Khun Tuin*

*Pa Nam*

*Makkhara*

\* *Mran Cuin*:

[New names are shown by asterics]. But the changes in *Tuik* area suggests that land under cultivation was ever increasing. As the king's power grew, he needed more armed men and these men were expected to cultivate when there was no fighting. In this way more *Tuik* appeared (ROB 31 May 1679). They were :

*A Rhe*, *Bhak Tuik* [*Kyoau Can Tuik*] located on the east of the *Erawati* from *Canku*: to *Mrac Nay* (ROB 31 May 1679, ROB 2 Jun 1679, ROB 29 Nov 1787, ROB 24 Dec 1787, ROB 4 May 1795, ROB 12 Aug 1795, ROB 25 May 1801, ROB 6 Jul 1801, ROB 9 Feb 1806, ROB 22 Jun 1806)

*A Nok Bhak Tuik* located on the opposite of the *Arhe*, *Bhak Tuik* plus all area south of *Awa* down to *Ra Man*: *San*: (ROB 31 May 1679, ROB (2 Jun) 1679, ROB 28 Nov 1783), ROB 28 Nov 1784, ROB 29 Dec 1784, ROB 25 Nov 1786, ROB 11 Jul 1787, ROB 5 Nov 1787, ROB 26 Nov 1787, ROB 17 Dec 1787, ROB 26 May 1795, ROB 7 Jun 1801)

*Ton Bhak Tuik* located on the west of the *Khyan*: *Twan*: river from *Kani* to *Pukhan*: *Kri*: (ROB 31 May 1679, ROB (2 Jun) 1679, ROB 16 Dec 1783, ROB 15 May 1784, ROB 2 Oct 1785, ROB 29 Sep 1787, ROB 9 Oct 1787, ROB 15 Oct 1787, ROB 29 Nov 1787, ROB 1 Apr 1788, ROB 2 Apr 1788, ROB 10 Jul 1795, ROB (7 Jun 1801), ROB 22 Jun 1806)

*Mrok Bhak Tuik* located on the north of *Mu chui*: *Phui* (ROB 1 Mar 1569, ROB 31 May 1679, ROB (2 Jun) 1679, ROB 16 Aug 1783, ROB 19 Jul 1787, ROB 14 Feb 1788, ROB 28 Mar 1788, ROB 20 Apr 1788, ROB 11 Aug 1788, ROB 19 Aug 1788, ROB 19 Aug 1795, ROB 12 May 1801, ROB 19 May 1801, ROB 22 May 1801, ROB (7 Jun 1801), ROB 23 Jun 1801, ROB 23 Jul 1801, ROB 15 Feb 1806, ROB 22 Jun 1806, ROB 31 Dec 1806)

*Mahadan Tuik* located within the triangle of *Man*: *Kan*: , *Re U*: and *Anim* , (ROB 1 Mar 1569, ROB 31 May 1679, ROB (2 Jun) 1679, ROB 24 Nov 1786, ROB 11 Aug 1787, ROB 29 Sep 1787, ROB 30 Sep 1787, ROB 20 Apr 1788, ROB 20 Feb 1806, ROB 22 Jun 1806)

*Twan*: *San*: *Tuik* located within the quadrangle from *Re U*: to *Mron* on the *Mu*: , from *Kyok Ta Lum*: to *Ta Lup* on the *Erawati* and from *Anim*, to *Pukham*: *Kri*: on the *Khyan*: *Twan*: rivers (ROB 1 Mar 1569, ROB 31 May 1679, ROB (2 Jun) 1679, ROB 22 Jul 1784, ROB 29 Dec 1784, ROB 18 Jul 1787, ROB 11 Aug 1787, ROB 20 Apr 1791, ROB (7 Jun 1801), ROB (23 Jul 1801), ROB 2 Mar 1806, ROB 10 Jun 1806)

*Chan Khre Tuik* located along the strip between the *Mahadan Tuik* and *Ton Bhak Tuik* on the east and the *Anok Rui*: *ma* Western Range, on the east; sometimes it was referred to as *Ba Kyi Tuik* between the two *Yama*; streams on the west of the *Khyan*: *Twan*: river (ROB 1 Mar 1569, ROB 31

May 1679, ROB (2 Jun) 1679, ROB 16 Mar 1680, ROB 17 Nov 1699, ROB 19 Jan 1715, ROB 16 Aug 1783, ROB 29 Dec 1784, ROB 20 Apr 1788, ROB 30 Apr 1795, ROB 15 Feb 1806, ROB 22 Jun 1806, ROB 28 Sep 1806)  
 Na: Cui , Tuik [location unknown] (ROB 1 Mar 1569, ROB 15 Oct 1787, ROB 16 Oct 1787, ROB 20 Apr 1788)

Approximately early *Nam Sa* and *Muchuiwophui* became *Mrok Bhak Tuik* , *Muchuiwokhrum* and *Latuiw* became *Twan: San: Tuik* , *Pan Can* became *Mahadan Tuik* , and *Pan Kli* [together with probably *Tama Kha* , *Pucaw* and *Mun Ton* ] became *Chan Kran Tuik*.

We have an interesting collection of records under the title of *Non ram: Khet Swan: ca* [Answers written by learned monks and submitted to kings with reference to their requests for information, AD 1600-1750]. As we all know King Sihasuramahadhammaraja *Non ram:* 1600-1750 was the king who started a new dynasty at *Awa* , rebuilt on 12 July 1598. His successor King Mahadhammaraja *Anokphaktwan* 1606-1606 started the march south to conquer the lower country. He wanted to know the territorial extent of former *Awa* but he put the question to *Anantadhaja Thera* in a such a way that a Buddhist monk teacher would be happy to answer. He was to mention the places under Buddhism after the death of the Buddha (ROB 8 May 1608).

List of *Tuin:* [Provinces] and *Pran* [Capital]

*Kamboca Mui: Nai Non Rhwe*

*Cim , Mui: Mit Si Po*

*Jeyamara Kyuin: Tum (Gum)*

*Jeyavaddhana Ketumati*

*Mahanagara Kyuin: Rum: (Lu:)*

*(Ramanna) Hamsavati*

*Sirikhettarama Sarekhettara*

*Susimanagara Muttama*

*Haripunca Jan: May*

Unfortunately the monk made a mistake to claim that these places accepted Buddhism from the time of the first Buddhist synod convened immediately after the death of the Buddha. In the *Rham:* area the names were given under five categories, viz. *Thi:* , *Kyuin:* , *Muin:* and *Tha:* .

Nine *Thi:* [Vassals with right to use white umbrella]

*Ban: Moau*

*Bhamo*

*Mui: Kon:*

*Mong Kawng*

*Mui: Nhan:*

*Mong Yang*

*Mui: Nai*

*Mong Nai*

*Mui: Brai*

*Mong Pai*

*Mui: Mit*

*Mong Mit*

*Si Po*

*Hsipaw*

*Sin Ni*

*Hsenwi and*

*Un: Pon*

*(Old Hsipaw)*

Nine *Kyuin:* [Eastern principalities with prefix *Kyuin:* to each name]

*Kyuin: Khon*

*?Keng Hkawng*

*Kyuin: Khyuin:*

*Kiang Kheng*

*Kyuin: Tum*

*Kengtung*

*Kyuin: May*

*?Chiengmai*

*Kyuin: Rai*

*Kiang Hai*



Kyuin: Rum            Kenghung  
 Kyuin: Lap            ?Keng Lap  
 Kyuin: San            Kiang Tsen  
 Kyuin: Up            ?Keng Ok  
 Nine Muin: [Minor eastern principalities with prefix *Muin:* to each name]  
 Muin: Kuin            Mong Kung  
 Muin: Can            Mong Sin  
 Muin: Cit            Mong Sit  
 Muin: Tum            Mong Tung  
 Muin: Pu            Mong Pu  
 Muin: Pwan            Mong Pawn  
 Muin: Mat            Mong Pat  
 Muin: La            Mong La  
 Muin: An:            Mong Ing

Nine Tha: [Guard stations dotted along the routes to eastern frontier]

Tha: Caka:            Ta samka  
 Tha: Can            Ta se-an  
 Tha: Palu            Ta palu  
 Tha: Paluin            Ta phaleng  
 Tha: Pha            Ta hpa  
 Tha: Phyam            Ta hpyan  
 Tha; Sai            Ta hsai  
 Tha: San Nwat        Ta senut  
 Tha: Ayu            Ta ahyu

The monk gave another list of places where people were Buddhists by the time of the second Buddhist synod convened on the centenary of the death of the Buddha. He claimed that the list was old but he used a contemporary list (1608) to make it and in this way it could be of some use to us.

*Karannawati* (*Kantarawati*)

*Kale:*

*Ku Chip*

*Ketu*

*Ketumati* (*Ton Nu*)

*Kassanawati*

*Kincipura* (*Jan: May*)

*Kyuin: Noau*

*Kwan: Thok*

*Canda* (*Santa:*)

*Jeyawati*

*Tariyangadipa* (*Sanlyan*)

*Tampawati*

*Takkhui*

*Thi: Le: Can: (Thi; Lan:)*

*Thaksa Khyuin (Thi: Khyuin:)*

*Dipai Yan:*

*Nandapura Cac Kuin: Kri: (Cackuin:)*

*Pan: Sa*

*Pai Ku: (Hamsawati)*

*Pran*

*Maha Pruin (Maha Mruin)*

*Mutamoau (Muttama)*

*Man: Tun:*

*Yo*

*Lon: Rhan*

*Sarekhettara*

*Susimanagara (Kusim)*

*Son Swat (Hsaunghsup)*

*Ucceni*

Finally the monk gave a similar list of places where Buddhists lived at the time of the third Buddhist synod (AB 218, 326 BC) though we might assume that it too was based on a contemporary list. There were seventy two names though eighteen [shown with astericks] remained unknown.

*\*Karan*

*Ku Thwat*

*\*Kan*

*Kan Ni*

*\*Kyan:*

*\*Krwe Sam Bha Ra*

*Khwan: Chum*

*Khoausati*

*Na Ra Nai*

*Nhak Pyo*

*Caku*

*Carwam (Jalwan)*

*Cac Kuin:*

*Canputtara*

*Can Sa*

*\*Cim*

*Cha Kyan*

*Non Pan*

*Tanansari*

*Ta Pay*

*Ta Lup*

*Tha: Way*

*\*Da Kay*

*Da Nu Phyu*

*\*Pibhisama Myok*

*Pu Gam*

*Pu Kham: Nay*

*Pan Lay*

*Pan: Ra*

*Pan: Sa*

*\*Pac Cana*

*Pan Thin*

*Pan Thwa*

*Pu Kham: Nay*

*Pum Ton*

*Pran Can*

Pran  
 \*Phyanta  
 Ba Dum  
 Bha Uin  
 Ma Kwe:  
 Ma Lwan  
 Mu Chuiw Phui  
 Moau Kay  
 Moau Tum  
 Man: Kan:  
 Mre Tai  
 Mran Kwan:  
 Mran Cuin:  
 Yan: Toau  
 \*Yan: E  
 \*Ratana Tan: Tim  
 \*Rama  
 Re Kan: Man: Kri:  
 Re Nam Khyon:  
 Re:  
 Ran On [Ra Non]  
 Rwa Pu Kri:  
 Lay Kuin:  
 Wati:  
 Wagaru  
 Wak Ma Cwat  
 \*Saraton  
 \*Saranatan  
 Sagara  
 \*Su Kyip Mrok  
 \*Sac Krak Sa  
 Sa Mran Tum  
 \*Sim  
 Han: Sa Ta  
 Amran ,  
 O Pan Lak  
 \*On Khwap Myok

At the end of the list he added a note that it was only *can: nay si toau mu sa rum* - to acquaint the king slightly on this subject. In the absence of a better evidence we are thankful to the monk for his information though we are aware that he was dealing with a subject which he did not know much. As a matter of fact he took the cue from the king who said :

*Siridhammasoka man kri; lak thak mrui, tuin: kharuin nuin nam nhan takwa are athwak 84,000 pwa ra ka: akyan: a: phran, (mhat ) so (au) Anok Bhak Tuik Arhe Bhak Tuik Ton Bhak Tuik nhan, Mrok Bhak Tuik wan cakhyi camran kalan sanpran mretuin mrethin: rhi so mrui, rwa tuiw san ka abhay mhya ta tuik way u: re mrui, rwa rhi sa nan: (ROB 8 May 1608)*

In the time of King Asoka there were towns, divisions, states, etc. as numerous as 84,000 and I do not want all the names. Give me a brief list

under four divisions of West, East, South and North where either one of these officers has had his office, viz. Accounts Clerk, Records Clerk, Village Headman, Village Tract Headman, and Land Controller. Just mention towns and villages under him.

The king obviously assumed that he too was a universal monarch (ROB 22 Nov 1628, ROB 11 Nov 1629) in direct line of succession from Asoka who was believed to have a pagoda built in each of the Buddhist communities numbering up to 84,000 and he was not asking to get all names; a few would suffice for the time being. And the monk was wise enough to give the names he knew in the *Awa* kingdom plus a few fictitious ones.

*A Nok Bhak Tuik* [West Division]

*Cetuttara*

*Cha: Lan: Kri:*

*Chum Tha:*

*Chan Yan*

*Tara:*

*Thip Mrai*

*Pu Kham: Kri:*

*Puppa*

*Phrac Si:*

*Bhon Lan:*

*Mitthila*

*Langa To*

*A Rhe, Bhak Tuik* [East Division]

*Chu: Kha;*

*Ton Kyan:*

*Ton Prun: Kri:*

*Ton Prun: Nay*

*Ton Mran,*

*Ton Sa Man*

*Thi: Pon: Ka:*

*Ma Tai*

*Mattara*

*On Pan Lay*

*Ton Bhak Tuik* [South Division]

*Co Lha*

*Nat Mok*

*Pa Nam*

*Pan: Ta Lai*

*Pan Lay*

*Pan:*

*Pac Ma Na:*

*Makkhara*

*Mitthila*

*Mran: Chuin:*

*Mrac Sa:*

*Mron Lha*

*Yan: To*

*Lhuin: Tak*

*Sagara*  
*Mrok Bhak Tuik* [North Division]

*Kai Pa*

*Na Kan:*

*Non Kan*

*Ta Lai Pa*

*Tak Sa Khyuin*

*Tan To*

*Di Pai Yan:*

*Naga: Poau*

*Pa Tat Tuin*

*Pa Dum*

*Pai Ton*

*Pai Hu*

*Man*

*Han: Sa*

*Amran,*

In addition to these there are also *Chan Kre Tuik* , *Twan: San: Tuik* and *Mahadan Tuik* though the names of villages, etc. in these divisions were not given.

Another monk called *Saddhammavamsa* , *Kyon: Sac* , *Can* , *Ku:* , left a note in about 1750 giving the divisions, their boundaries, physical features and an interesting description on general character of the people living in these places.

The Place and People of *Mranma Nuin Nam* in Ten Divisions, c. 1750

Division *Kanboja*

Boundary The *Salwan* on the east, *Mui: Brai* on the south, *Sum: Chay* on the west and *Sin: Ni* on the north

Climate Temperate

Physical Features Hill and dale ; many small streams from water fountains

People Fair complexion; calm disposition; little intelligence; and not ambitious

Division *Khemawara*

(Composite Towns) *Kyuin: Sai* *Kyuin: Mai*

Climate

Physical Features High mountains; fertile valleys growing quite a variety of crops; fruits are luscious

People Everyone looks alike each other; all of them appear to be healthy

Division *Khetta*

(Composite Towns) *Sam Lhyan* , *Da Gum* and *Sarekhettara*

(Climate)

Physical Features

People Beautiful women; intelligent; civil; presence of three estates, viz. *Asan* , *Cac San* and *Kun San*

Division *Cina*

(Composite Towns) *Mui: Mit* , *Mui: Nhan:* , *Mui: Kon:* , *Bha Moau* , *Wan Sui* and *Ko Lan:*

Climate

Physical Features	Numerous lakes and streams; dense forests of big trees and dangerous beasts and insects; swampy ground
People	Coarse in appearance; apathetic look; no ambition
Division	<i>Tampadipa</i>
(Composite Towns)	<i>Pokkam</i> , <i>Ketumati</i> , <i>Kui: Kharuin</i> and <i>Kyoau Can</i>
(Climate)	Strong wind
Physical Features	Sandy soil; plentiful of good coconut and mango trees
People	Handsome males; very courteous
Division	<i>Mahanagara</i>
(Composite Towns)	<i>Kyuin: (Rum)</i> , <i>M(uin: Yam:)</i> ; villages and towns built close together leaving much area uninhabited
(Climate)	
(Physical Features)	
People	Capable of wild outbursts; crude eating habits; travel long to trade
Division	<i>Ramanna</i>
(Composite towns)	<i>Muttama</i> and <i>Pai Khu: Hamsawati</i>
(Climate)	
(Physical Features)	Many rivers, lakes and marshy areas; saline water and soil ; produces good salt
People	Crafty; speckled face; brown complexion
Division	<i>Sunaparanta</i>
Boundary	The <i>Erawati</i> on the east, <i>Ca Kuin:</i> on the south, the <i>Khyan: Twan:</i> on the west and <i>Mre Tu:</i> on the north
Climate	
Physical Features	Compact soil; alkaline water; produces good jaggery
People	Good stamina
Division	<i>Haribhunja</i>
Composite Towns	<i>Suvannabhummi</i> <i>Jan: May</i>
(Climate)	
(Physical Features)	
People	Courageous; well built body with broad chest; complexion of chestnut colour; greenish dark eyes
Division	<i>Arimanna</i>
Composite Towns	<i>Thi: Lan:</i> , <i>Yo</i> , <i>Cho</i> , <i>Son: Swat</i> , <i>Man: Kan:</i>
(Climate)	
(Physical Features)	Rocky area
People	Skilled in magic and witchcraft; potent medicine; immune to smallpox and measles; pouchy middle

When the envoys to Cochín-China (Vietnam) led by *Ne Myui: Siri Sura Noratha* were about to leave the capital city they were briefed on what to say to get a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance between the two countries. They were told to mention the large territories under the *Mranma* king in order to impress the rulers there (ROB 25 Apr 1822).

States and Capitals under the *Mranma* suzerain

*Khemarattha*

*Kyuin: Tum* (Kengtung)

*Mui: Brai* (Mong Pai)

*Sin: Ni* (Hsenwi)

*Un Bhon* (Hsipaw)

Gandala  
Cina  
Jeyavattthana  
Tampadipa  
Duraka  
Naga Shyanta  
Mahavitikarakkhapura

Moriya  
Rajangala  
Ramanna

Lona

Sirikhettara  
Sunaparanta  
Asama Sakkadeva  
Alavipura

Mui: Mit (Mong Mit)  
Ban: Moau  
Ketumati (Ton Nu)  
Arimaddana (Pagan)  
Tha: Way (Tavoy)  
Manipura  
(Dannavati Mrok U:)  
Rammavati (Ramree)  
Meghavati (Man On)  
Dvaravati (Sam Twai, Sandoway)  
Kale:  
Mui: Kon: (Mong Kawng)  
Hamsawati (Pegu)  
Pusim (Bassein)  
Muttama (Martaban)  
Mrui: (Mergui)  
Tanansari (Tenasserim)  
Pran (Prome)  
Ratanasingha Kun: Bhon (Shwebo)  
Gorarangapura  
Mui: Nhan: (Mong Yang)

Big towns in the states mentioned above are :

Ka Non , Ka Sa , Ka Ma , Ko Lan : , Kon: Tum , Kan: Ni , Kya Pan: , Kyok Kri: , Kyok Con: Sum: Mrui, , Kyok Pan: Ton: , Kyok Moau , Kyok Mron: , Kyok Ran: , Kyok Rac , Kram Khan: , Kram Nhap , Kha Pon: , Kho Santi , Khon: Tum Chay Rwa , Kham Pat , Khywan: Ton: , Na Bhai , Na Mra , Na Ra Nai , Na Sa Rok , Ca Ku , Ca Kyan , Ca Le , Ca Lan: , Co Lha , Cac Ton: , Cum: , Can, Ku: , Can Puttara , Campanaguir , Cho , Ja Rwam (Ja Lwan) , Non Ram: , Non Up , Ta Kon: , Ta Pa Yan: , Ta Rup Moau , Ta Lup , Tu Rwan: Tuin , Ton Kup , Ton Chan: Na: Rwa , Ton Twan: Kri: , Ton Sa , Tin Nan , Tuin: Ta: , Tha: Way , Thi: Lan: , Da La , Da Nu Phru , Na Bhak , Nat Mok , Pa Khan: Kri: , Pa Khan; Nay , Pa Tha Na Guir , Pa Tin: , Pan Khyin , Pan: , Pan: Ta Lai , Pan: Ya , Pan: Sa , Pan Ca La (Na: Mrui,) , Puppa: , Pyan: Ma Na: , Phon Lan: Bho Non Kuin: , Bhatta , Ma Kwe: , Ma Bhai , Ma Lan , Ma Lwan , Mahajeyapura (Ca Kuin:), Mi Khyon: Rai , Makkhara , Man: Kan: , Man: Tap , Man: Tum: , (Man: Lha) , Mattara , Moau Nay , Moau Tum , (Moau Bhi) , Mui: Tha: , Mra Ton , Mra Wa Ti , Mre Tai , Mre Du: , Mran Cuin: , Mran Kwan: , Mran: Khun Tuin , (Mran: Mu) , Mrac Sa , Mran On , (Mrui, Kri:), Mrui, Lha , Mrui, Sac , Yo , Yan: Khai , Yan: Toau , Ra Non , Ra Man: San: , Re Nam Khyon: , Re Nam, Sa , Rhwe Kyan , Rhwe Gu , Rhwe Ton , Lon Rhan , Lhuin , Sa Mran Tum , Sa Rak , Sayawati , Sawatti , Son: Swap , Sam Lhyan , Han: Sa , Han: Sa Ta , Han: Ga Moau , Han Lan: , An Thok Sa , A Mran , A Lum , and A La Kappa.

Each of these towns has several villages around it. Provinces are :

Kyoau Can Tuik , Chan Kran Tuik , Ton Bhak Tuik , Twan: San: Tuik , Ba Kyi Tuik , Maha Dan Tuik , Mrok Bhak Tuik , Rai Lhe Tuik and Anok Bhak Tuik.

All these places are quite prosperous and densely populated. Merchants from various parts of the world come in ships to buy and sell various commodities including precious stones and textile. Their ships call at the following ports :

*Tanansari* (Tenasserim)

*Tha: Way* (Tavoy)

*Dvaravati* (Sam Twai, Sandoway)

*Dwahatti*

*Dhannawati* (Mrok U, Myo Haung)

*Pu Sim* (Bassein)

*Muttama* (Martaban)*Kale:*

*Meghawati* (Man On, Man Aung)

*Mrit* (Mergui)

*Raminawati* (Ram: Brai, Ramree)

*Sam Lhyan* (Syriam)

*Hamsawati* (Ran Kun, Rangoon)

*Huin: Kri:* (Negrais)

Close to the Golden City and along the *Camun, Pan: Lon* and *Joaugyi* streams the following dams are made for rice cultivation with irrigation.

*Kan: Ta:*

*Kyi: Man:*

*Kyok Chan*

*Na Nuin San*

*Na Pron*

*Nwa: Tak*

*Pron Pra* and

*Ma Gha*

Water from the *Maddara Kui: Thana* (Madaya Nine Water Sources) is brought to the Golden City by the *Rhwe Ta Khyon:* and *Rhwe Lon:* channels. Other reservoirs are :

*Kan Toau*

*Jon: Ka Lo Kan*

*Nanda Kan*

*Mitthila Kan* and

*Uttamaraj Kan*

According to these lists of 1822 there were sixteen states with 127 towns and thirteen sea ports making a total of 140 towns in the kingdom of *Mranma*. The states had classical names but they were seldom used and that explains why some places have more than one classical name and no one tries to check them as everyone would be happy to use the popular name with a suffix *Tuik* as it was the common practice from the 12th century. Towards the end of the *Kun: Bhon* period one half of the kingdom became *Angalip Mranma* (British Burma) and *Tuin: Ran: Mranma* (Native Burma) was divided into ten *Kharuin*.

Comparison of early *Kharuin* and *Tuik* with *Kharuin* of King *Sipo* (9 Mar 1884)

PUKAM

A W A

MANDALE:

*Ton Plun Kharuin*

*Rhwe Mrui, Toau* and

*Rhwe Krui: Sat Nay*

*Chai Tac Kharuin*

*Awa, Kui: Kharuin,*

*Rhwe Pran Ran On,*



Khrok Kharuin  
Tama Kha: Tuik  
Pu Caw Tuik and  
Mun Ton Tuik  
Pankli Chay Tuik

Pan Can Tuik  
Muchui: Khrum Tuik  
and La Tuiw Tuik  
Nam Sa Tuik and  
Muchui: Pui Tuik

Chan Kran Tuik

Maha Dan Tuik  
Twan: San: Tuik  
Ton Bhak Tuik and  
Mrok Bhak Tuik  
A Nok Bhak Tuik  
Twan: San: Tuik and  
Maha Dan Tuik  
Mrok Bhak Tuik

A Rhe, Bhak Tuik and  
A Nok Bhak Tuik

Pan: Ta Lai, Talup and  
Non Up  
Mitthila, Ran: Toau, Ra  
Non, Tha Ram Ka,  
Lhuin: Tak, Sagara,  
Non Ram: , Ra Man:  
San: and Ton Nu  
Pan: , Nat Mok, Kyok  
Pan: Ton; and Ton  
Twan:  
Ok Mrac Can Wai Ya  
Pukhan; Kri: . Yo, Cho,  
Lon: Rhan, Thi: Lan:  
and Yo Tuik Kyan  
Khyan: Twan; Kyon:  
Mrac Can

Ca Kuin: A Mran,  
A Lum and Tapa Yan:

Ratanasingha Mre Tu:  
Ko Lan: Wan Sui  
Na Ra Nai Khosanti  
Pancala Na: Mrui, and  
Rhwe A Rhe, Kron:  
A Na Mrac Can Wai  
Ya

The best rice producing areas were known as Khyan: Twan: , Ca Lan: , Ton Twan: and Lay Twan: 25. We know that Lay Twan: was Chai Tac Rwa or Kharuin of Kyok Chan and Ca Lan: was Khrok Kharuin in Man: Bhu: where Mranma came to live before Pukam was built (ROB 24 Jan 1758). The average produce of one *pay* (1.75 acres)<sup>26</sup> of rice field was ten *tan*: (46lbs x 10) of paddy a year (ROB 24 Aug 1873). One hundred *tan*: of paddy was valued at Ks 35.00 (ROB 4 Jul 1863). There are two model plots, one of *Pakati Pay* - Regular [1.75 acres], and another of *Man: Pay* - King Size [3.5 acres]<sup>27</sup>, in Mantale: near the Mangala Bhum Kyoau monastery completed on 3 January 1792<sup>28</sup>. The king issued an order to use these models as standard for all land measures (ROB 28 Jan 1795). When the enclosure wall of model one [*Pakati Pay*] was completed he wanted the wall of model two [*Man: Pay*] finished as quickly as possible (ROB 2 Jul 1795). It seems that there was always a drive to put more land under rice crop (ROB 16 May 1801) and it was expected that all cultivators without exception were working in their fields when rains came (ROB 12 May 1801). He should be in his field during the four rainy months of June through September and also in another three months until the harvest time early in December. If a farmer was in town either as party to a law suit or as principal witness in a dispute, the officers of the court shall see to the fact that he was certainly sent back to cultivate when rains set in (ROB 26 Jun 1784, ROB 12 May 1801, ROB 16 May 1801). The king wanted all cultivable land to be under all possible kind of crop (ROB 21 Sep 1787). He also

encouraged cultivators to increase as much as possible the area under cultivation each year (ROB 16 May 1801). Men of the fighting forces were expected to cultivate in the land given to them under the name of *Lup Mre* Land to cultivate, and when they were posted to any other place on guard duty they shall cultivate in all available space around their station there (ROB 1 Apr 1788).

The phrase *Pay ta son: mron: ta ra* One hundred canals to water ten thousand *pay* [17,500 acres of rice land], best explains the old *Mranma* irrigation system at *Lay Twan: (Kyok Chan)* (Cambhu 1960, p.30, 9 Mar 1602; p.95, 13 Feb 1638; p.84, 4 May 1699; p.87, 17 May 1714). As mentioned above eleven places of the 11th - 13th century were reduced to nine in the 14th - 17th century and six of the eleven survived and three new were added. These nine were sometimes mentioned as *Ton Bhak 4 Kharuin 5 Kharuin* South 4 districts and 5 districts (Cambhu 1960, p.30, 9 Mar 1602) or *Ton Bhak 9 Kharuin* South 9 districts (Cambhu 1960, p.56, 26 Feb 1603). The dams were *Kalan Kyoau Chan* (Cambhu 1960, p.30, 9 Mar 1602; p.56, 26 Feb 1603) *Kyi: Man: Chan* (Cambhu 1960, p.30, 9 Mar 1602; p.56, 26 Feb 1603) *Nwa: Tak Chan* (Cambhu 1960, p.30, 9 Mar 1602; p.56, 26 Feb 1603) and *Pron: Pra Chan* (Cambhu 1960, p.30, 9 Mar 1602; p.56, 26 Feb 1603) and it would be no exaggeration that there were one hundred canals to make the whole irrigation system working well. The two reasons that kept the standard of service high were that special orders were passed occasionally to keep all weirs and canal in first class condition at all times and that *Chan Wan* Officer of Weirs, was given the authority during any emergency to commandeer the service of everyone in the area to do the necessary repairs at the dams, etc. (ROB 15 Sep 1787). The system in the three remaining 'rice bowl areas' was equally efficient because *Kyok Chan* was their model. While the king was away on a campaign against Thailand, he sent a message to Crown Prince at the capital city 'to dam the *Mu* on the right time at the right place' (ROB 1 Jan 1760). Most of the royal lands were located on the east of *Erawati* in *Kyoau Can Tuik* and an order was passed that *Lamuin: Royal Land*, had top priority in getting the water distributed from the *On Pan Lay* reservoir. Later this was made all the more obvious by an order that *Lamuin: Wan* - Officer of Royal Land, alone was in charge of water supply in that area (ROB 24 Oct 1811). The *Mron: Ma Toau* Royal Main Channel, was the principal water distributor there and another order was passed to keep that channel in a state of good repairs at all times (ROB 13 Aug 1787). Another *Mron: Ma Toau* of *Kyun: Lha* weir was found to be too narrow and with the help of villagers from nineteen local villages it was made 31.5 feet wide (ROB 24 Sep 1787). The *Ton Sa Man* embankment was not high enough for a bigger flow of water supply and to make it thirteen feet high it was divided into thirty four sections and each prince or minister was given a section to raise it to the required height with his own men (ROB 19 May 1795). For better management of the *Nanda Kan*, *Rhwe Lon: Mron* and *Nai Kut Sui Mron:*, the *Madara* irrigation officers were advised to take as model the system in the *Kyok Chan Kui: Kharuin* (ROB 3 Jun 1795). Eventually the *Rhwe Lon: Mron:* could water 100 *pay* [175 acres] of rice land (ROB 16 Apr 1810). In another order *Kyi Wan* - Officer of Granaries, was given charge of the *Madara* system (ROB 2 Mar 1806, ROB 22 Jul 1806). *Duin: Wan* - Officer of Shields, was given charge of (? *Kyok Chan* ) irrigation system and authority to settle all land disputes there (ROB 19 Sep 1806, ROB 22 Jul 1806). *Ban Sa:* Irrigation Workers, were put under

him to maintain the sluices, dams and canals (ROB 19 Sep 1806). When the people of *Tapak Chwai*, *Tak Mhyoau* and *Matuin: Ta* failed to do the repairs at the *Mron: Chum* Canal Junction, a special order was passed that they could not evade that duty (ROB 10 Dec 1806). When a new irrigation project was started at *Um: Lwat*, *Mui: Krui: Prac* and *Nat Mok* all local cultivators were called upon to help (ROB 1 Sep 1807). So were the cultivators called upon to do the repairs of the embankment of the *Mitthila Kan* (ROB 16 Mar 1810). The second last *Mranma* king [*Man: dum: 1853-1878*] also took special care to improve the irrigation system and increase rice production in his kingdom. Soon after he became king he had the *Sirinanda* and *Jeyananda* reservoirs repaired on 7 Aug 1853, the *Mahananda*, *Yan: Ma*, *Krui: Kra*, *Chan Kwat*, *Ka Thu:* and *Pa Luin:* on 26 September 1853, the *Tamut Chui:* on 24 August 1854, the *Pu Joau* in *Re Nam, Sa* of *Cum:* township in October 1854, the *Wan: Can* on 25 November 1854, the *Mu:* valley irrigation system on 22 January 1855, the *Man: Rwa* on 26 July 1855, the *Mitthila Kan* on 22 November 1856, the *Man: Than*, *Mahananda* and *Kywai Chan:* in January 1857, the *On Pan Lay*, *Nanda* and *Kan Na: Rwa* in *Pran Can* township on 2 February 1857. Believing that it would help to increase the agricultural production he had had the *Lay Thwan Mangala* Royal Ploughing Ceremony, three times on 16 June 1853, 25 June 1866, and 24 June 1868 during the twenty five years of his reign.

The *Tha: Ma U: Khya* First Slash of Cutlass, was the term used to clear forest for cultivation (Cambhu 1960, p.91, 5 Feb 1600). Referring to forefathers who would have done that many generations before the term *Bhui: Bha Puin* Owned by Forefathers, was also used to denote such land (ROB 12 Nov 1804, ROB 18 Oct 1858, ROB 19 Oct 1858, ROB 20 Oct 1858, ROB 11 Feb 1859, ROB 4 Mar 1859, ROB 6 Feb 1864, ROB 16 Nov 1865). In several places it was the armed men who did that work of claiming land from jungle (Cambhu 1960, p.91, 5 Feb 1600) and it is interesting to note that most of them were [non-*Mranma*] war captives who took the oath of allegiance to the *Mranma* king and served him loyally. They were cultivators in peaceful times and received *Lup Mre* Land to cultivate, *Ca: Mre* Land from which they had had some share in the yearly produce, and *Ne Mre* Land on which they could build their homes. The war captives from *Viencheng* and *Chiengmai* became horsemen and were settled in the *Cis-Samlwan* area (Cambhu 1960, p.102, 17 May 1601); men from *Tha: Way* and *Hamsawati* became sword and shield men and were settled along the *Erawati* valley (Cambhu 1960, p.67, 13 Feb 1638); men of *Kenghung* became long lance men and were settled in the *Ton Bhak Le: Kharuin* (Cambhu 1960, p.67, 13 Feb 1638); *Kula:* and *Rakhuin* archers and were settled in the glebe of *Mra Can: Khum* pagoda (Cambhu 1960, p.101, 23 Feb 1638). When a glebe was worked by men of armed forces, the revenue went to the *Ka Thon: Mron Tuik* [*Lhwattoau* Treasury] where religious funds were also kept. Roughly a leader got about 5 *pay* [8.75 acres] and a man 2.5 *pay* [4.375 acres] and the whole area of cultivable land was plotted out in proportion to the strength of the group and as time went on men and land went out of proportion in some places. It would be rather a case of more land than men because some died and some went away probably to improve their lot in other modes of life. Officers were sent to trace the absconders and measure the land again to make it right in size for the existing number of men in the group (ROB 30 May 1635, Cambhu 1960, p.59, 13 Oct 1637; pp.66, 67 and 95, 13 Feb 1638; p.100, 23 Feb 1638; p.38, 28 Mar 1638, p.96, 17 May 1689). When a

lost man was found anyone who helped him to abscond would be punished along with him (ROB 11 May 1692).

After having acquired a new territory, the king wanted to build a pagoda there to seal the pretense that he fought his neighbour to suppress hethenism in favour of Buddhism. Such a pagoda had to be just a small one known by the name of *Mutho* (Cambhu 1960, pp.42 & 43, 25 Oct 1605). To have planted a bodhi tree was another mark to establish the fact that Buddhism had reached there (Cambhu 1960, p.42, 25 Oct 1605). *Ana Cak* King's Authority, and *Dhamma Cak* Religious Authority, were being extended side by side as a practical solution to have the Religion of the Buddha established firmly either in an old location or in a new one (ROB 10 Sep 1871). King *Pu Tum* 1782-1819 had the name of *Mutho* changed to *Rhwe Gu* Gold Cave, because it was to become a pagoda *cum* - temple, i.e. a temple of the Buddha image with a pagoda enshrined with the Buddha relics on the roof. He built over 550 *Rhwe Gu* and that testified that his territory was quite extensive to have over 550 administrative units in it. King *Si Po* 1878-1885 whose kingdom was much reduced had had only 156 *Rhwe Gu* at

13	<i>Mranma</i>	villages
93	<i>Mranma</i>	towns
46	<i>Rham:</i>	towns and
4	<i>Rham:</i>	<i>U: Tuik Tham:</i> [ under direct <i>Mranma</i> control].
156	Total	

All these small monuments were always built simultaneously by synchronizing the moment to lay the first stone when the lunar eclipse began on a particular day notified by astrologers long before it occurred. Each one was built on a platform of ten and a half feet square and raised to a height of ten and a half feet though the total height would become fifteen feet after the finial was fixed. The total cost was only Ks 625.5029.

Exploitation of natural resources like digging or extraxcting or panning earth oil, iron, lead, precious stones, silver and tree gum were all put under the care of *Kyi Wan* Officer of Granaries (ROB 30 Jul 1600, ROB 16 Mar 1680). *Ton Can Khunac Kharuin* Seven Districts along the [Western] Range, seemed to be the principal area to get the forest products (ROB 18 Feb 1788) and men of *Kyi Wan Cu* Groups working under the Officer of Granaries, would be found scattered over a wide range of places. In the ruby mine and lead mine areas *Ka San:* Cassays, were employed (ROB 20 Jul 1787). The king ordered the local guardian spirits to help these workers to unearth the best of rubies (ROB 22 May 1837, ROB 18 Oct 1855). A special order was passed to notify that local chiefs shall not disturb the workers of *Kyi Wan* - Officer of Granaries, because they were working to get *Rhwe Khwan* Gold Revenue, *Nwe Khwan* Silver Revenue, *Sam* Iron, *Sacce:* Tree Gum, *Nhak Mri:* Birds' Feathers, *Pa Yan:* Amber, and *Kyok* [Precious] Stones, and they had been usually described as *Nan: Rui: Akhwan Toau Chak Lu* People who always supply the [Precious Things] for Palace Consumption, were not taking orders from local chiefs though they would possibly live and work in areas under them (ROB 12 Nov 1804). There was only one exception to this rule. We do not know the reason why but gold and silver workers in *Raman: San:* worked under the local chief (ROB 12 Mar 1806). Gold panning was largely done in *Rhwe Khrok Rwa* Six Villages of Gold, located in the upper reaches of the *Mu:* river (ROB 31 Dec 1872) and a man using *An Ta*

*Khyap* One Pan, and *Tam Mrak Ta Ci*: One Broom, had to pay three viss of copper as tax a year (ROB 5 Jun 1857).

In addition to precious things, the palace wanted some special or strange creatures. There were orders for *Nwa Toau* Milch Cows, (ROB 14 Jul 1795) and *Nwa Puik* Young Bulls (ROB 17 Jul 1806) probably to improve the breeds. Some were of course for curiosity like *Kya*: Tiger (ROB 22 Nov 1824), *Kyok Nwa*: Midget Ox (ROB 30 Mar 1807), *Khran Se*, Lion (ROB 22 Nov 1824), *Mi Khyon*: - Crocodile (to be sent to China, ROB 24 Jul 1795, ROB 6 Aug 1795, ROB 8 Aug 1795), *Re Chan* Water Elephant (ROB 14 Mar 1806, ROB 10 Jul 1806), *Re Wak* Water Pig (ROB 14 Mar 1806, ROB 10 Jul 1806), *Re Saman* Water Deer (ROB 19 May 1801), and *Lu Wam* Orangutan (ROB 20 Jul 1806, ROB 27 Dec 1800, ROB 29 Dec 1806).

Fire being the curse of all *Mranma* towns the king passed quite often orders on fire fighting. After an enemy town was taken the king warned his soldiers to take special care to save it from fire (ROB 13 Mar 1760). When a new palace was built precautions against fire were taken (ROB 6 Feb 1783, ROB 28 Jan 1785, ROB 17 Jun 1795). Brick buildings with tile roofs were constructed (ROB 15 Feb 1785, ROB 26 Mar 1788, ROB 26 Feb 1810). Some houses were pulled down in various congested areas of the city (ROB 29 Mar 1810, ROB 1 Apr 1810). After a great fire relief in the form of free food, clothings, etc. were distributed to fire victims (ROB 13 Feb 1788, ROB 11 APR 1806) and men responsible for the fire as well as men who did not help to extinguish it were punished (ROB 10 Apr 1806, ROB 1 Oct 1806, ROB 28 Apr 1810). There was *Mi: Wan* Fire Office, who trained young men in fire fighting (ROB 15 Sep 1784).

#### Notes

- 1 *Epigraphia Birmanica* III, i, Ed. by C. O. Blagden, *Rankun*, Government Press, 1919, Inscription IX b42, D24 and H12
- 2 *Inscriptions of Burma*, Ed. by G. H. Luce and *Phe Mon Tan*, London, Oxford University Press, 1933, Pl.10a20
- 3 Pl. 446b2
- 4 Pl. 469a2
- 5 Pl. 871
- 6 Luce, G. H., "Economic Life of the Early Burman", *JBR*, XXX, i, April 1940, p.287
- 7 Pl.16224,25 [S 608, AD 1246]; Duroiselle, C., *A List of Inscriptions found in Burma*, *Rankun*, Government Press, 1921, List 11330, List 698a25
- 8 Luce, G. H., "Old Kyaukse and the Coming of the Burmans", *JBR*, XLII, i, June 1959, p.80
- 9 Pl. 3111 [S 569, AD 1207]
- 10 Pl. 24424 [S 636, AD 1274]
- 11 Luce 1959, p.98
- 12 *Ep. Birm.* I, i, Inscription Ib25-26; Pl. 27127-30, Pl. 461b3, Pl. 481b4
- 13 *Tamtha: U: Nigradharum* Inscription<sup>9</sup>, List 1084a<sup>5,15</sup>
- 14 *Tan*, *Mranma Man: Upkhyuppum Catam*: , II, *Rankun*, Government Press, 1932, S 238, p.141 [1965 Reprint, p.120]
- 15 *Mhannan*: , I, *Rankun*, *Prankri: Manduin* Press, 1967 Reprint, p.394
- 16 *Mhannan*: , I, p.394
- 17 *Mhannan*: , I, p.405
- 18 *Mhannan*: , I, p.451

- 19 Tin Hla Thaw, "History of Burma, AD 1400-1500", *JBRS* , XLII, ii, December 1959, p.146
- 20 *Mhannan*; , I, p.136
- 21 List 2084a4-7
- 22 *Mhannan*: , III, *Rankun* , *Prankri*: *Manduin* Press, 1967 Reprint, p.99
- 23 List 1105a66-71
- 24 *Tan* , *Up* , II, 1932, S 225, p.93
- 25 *Tan* , *Up* , II, 1932, S 238, p.141
- 26 1.5 acres, *Tan* , *Up* , V, 1983 Reprint, S 539, p.27; 1.7718 acres, Scott, J. G. and J.P. Hardiman, *Gazetter of Upper Burma and Shan States* , I, ii, Glossary; Luce, 1940, p.291
- 27 List 1261b12, List 1292b19
- 28 First reference made to these model plots of *Pakati Pay* and *Man: Pay* was found in the chronicles on 24 June 1788; *Kun: bhon Chak* , II, 1967 Reprint, p.58
- 29 *Tan* , *Up* , II, 1932, S 233, p.129 [1965 Reprint, p.110] .

## The People

King *Hamsavati Chan Phru Rhan* 1554-1581 wanted all *Asan* - Common Folks, to take the oath of allegiance in the same manner that his officers and armed men did (ROB 1 Mar 1569). This is rather odd in the sense that in the two classes of people in a kingdom, viz. the ruler and the ruled, only the rulers next to the king had to take the oath of allegiance when a new king ascended the throne and when he appointed a new set of officers to help him in the administration (ROB 12 Oct 1783, ROB 12 Feb 1785). We notice that in this royal order that requires *Asan* - Common Folks, to take the oath *Rattanasingha* was mentioned as one of the places where the oath was administered and that certainly is an anachronism. But this one fault would not discredit entirely the authenticity of the whole document. [It would have been a scribe's error.] When King *Alon: Man: Tara:* 1752-1760 started a new dynasty he declared that all *Mranma* were assumed to have taken the oath of allegiance to him as he was going to subdue the people who tried to overthrow the *Mranma* suzerainty (ROB 2 Jan 1755). Like King *Hamsavati Chan Phru Rhan*, King *Pa Tum* 1782-1819 also wanted all *Asan* - Common Folks, to take the oath of allegiance (ROB 20 Apr 1788). All his armed men were also given the oath (ROB 12 Feb 1782). So were the robbers who surrendered and who were taken into his service and prisoners of war who wanted to serve him had to take the oath (ROB 10 Aug 1806, ROB 5 Dec 1806, ROB 15 Nov 1807)<sup>1</sup>.

At the time when the *Asan* - Common Folks, and *Cu Sa:* Members of Group [in the king's service], were given the oath of allegiance, the *Ca Ran:* Register or List, of their names would be updated. These records were usually written on *Purapuik* - Black Book. The regular size of this book measures 15" x 6" and it is in fact a single long *Lhwa* - sheet of paper made of bamboo pulp folded fanwise into sixteen *Re Ci:* - folds, and was called *Chu Wak* - Half Book, because a *Purapuik Ta Chu* - One Black Book, has thirtytwo *Re Ci:* - folds. We find one royal order that sanctions the use of *Purapuik* - larger than the regular in size for official records (ROB 19 Apr 1664). King *Siripavaramahadhammaraja Wan: Bhai An: Cam* 1673-1698 wanted the chronicles of groups fighting for the king or serving the king in other capacities compiled (ROB 2 Jun 1674). One list found in the collection of records supposed to have been made on 30 September 1378 is the list of one hundred and one races [of the world] (ROB 2 Jun 1674). Perhaps it was copied from the lost work *Cambu Tam Chip* referred to in the *Cway Cum Kyoau Than Aphre* - Explaining Some Moot Points in the Famous Collection of All Information. A hundred and one names are given in a verse with reference to the Jataka stories like *Sonananda* (No.532), *Mahasutasoma* (No. 537) and *Mahaumanga* (No.546). The stories simply say that there were one hundred and one kings and by inference there were one hundred and one races and a few known plus several invented names finally added up to exactly one hundred and one<sup>1</sup>. In the royal orders we find about eighteen ethnic names as follows.

*Ka Khyan (Sinpo Aruin: Acuin:* ROB 30 Mar 1807)

*Ka Tu:* (21 Oct 1808)

*Ka Ran* (ROB 17 Sep 1787, ROB 10 Nov 1787, ROB 19 Aug 1795, ROB 18 May 1806, ROB 10 Sep 1807, ROB 11 Dec 1807, Rob 16 Jan 1811)

*Ka San:* (Cambu 1960, p.15, AD 1635, ROB 20 Jul 1787, ROB 26 Nov 1787, ROB 11 Feb 1788, ROB 6 Jun 1795, ROB 20 Jun 1795, ROB 17 May 1801, ROB 13 Sep 1806, ROB 28 May 1801, ROB 14 Jul 1801, ROB 8

Jan 1806, ROB 23 Apr 1806, ROB 24 Apr 1806, ROB 25 Jul 1806, ROB 13 Sep 1806, ROB 4 Jan 1807, ROB 3 APR 1807, ROB 15 Apr 1807, ROB 16 Apr 1807, ROB 17 Apr 1807, ROB 18 Apr 1807, ROB 21 Apr 1807, ROB 22 Apr 1807, ROB 23 Apr 1807, ROB 21 Sep 1807, ROB 22 Nov 1807, ROB 27 Sep 1808, ROB 11 Oct 1808, ROB 18 Oct 1808, ROB 21 Oct 1808, ROB 23 Oct 1808, ROB 24 Oct 1808, ROB 25 Oct 1808, ROB 26 Oct 1808, ROB 27 Oct 1808, ROB 30 Oct 1808, ROB 2 Nov 1808, ROB 4 Nov 1808, ROB 6 Nov 1808, ROB 7 Nov 1808, ROB 3 Feb 1810, ROB 6 Feb 1810, ROB 20 Feb 1810, ROB 24 Feb 1810, ROB 10 Mar 1810, ROB 14 Mar 1810, ROB 16 Mar 1810, ROB 21 Mar 1810, ROB 22 Mar 1810, ROB 31 Mar 1810, ROB 16 Apr 1810, ROB 28 Apr 1810, 15 May 1810, ROB 27 Nov 1810, ROB 19 Dec 1810, ROB 28 Aug 1849)

*Ku La:* (ROB 5 May 1745, ROB 22 Jun 1801, ROB 16 Jan 1807, ROB 28 Apr 1807, ROB 19 Nov 1810)

*Ku La: Phru* (ROB 10 Aug 1795, ROB 4 Jul 1801, ROB 10 Aug 1795, ROB 25 Oct 1808, ROB 15 Sep 1819, ROB 25 Apr 1837, ROB 17 Apr 1855, ROB 4 Jun 1855, ROB 1 Aug 1855, ROB 25 Nov 1855, ROB 23 APR 1856, ROB 1 Mar 1859)

*Kon Han* (ROB 3 May 1810)

*Kwe*, (? Followers of Yung-li, last prince of the Ming Dynasty 1368-1644; spread among *Ka Ran*, *Rham:* and *Wa*; ROB 13 Oct 1808, ROB 16 Oct 1808, ROB 22 Oct 1808, ROB 23 Oct 1808)

*Khyan:* (ROB 21 Jan 1748, ROB 26 Mar 1788, ROB 24 Jul 1795)

*Ta Lut Tarak Pan: Siy* [Hui Hui] (ROB 8 Feb 1788, ROB 15 Jun 1795, ROB 3 Jul 1806, ROB 11 Jan 1807, ROB 27 Nov 1810, ROB 30 Jan 1811, ROB 6 Feb 1811, ROB 22 Mar 1811, ROB 23 Mar 1811, ROB 1 Sep 1819, ROB 15 Sep 1819, ROB 19 Apr 1833)

*Ba Ran Jyi* (ROB 19 Dec 1666, ROB 31 Jan 1872)

*Mran Ma* (ROB 7 Nov 1806)

*Mwan Tan Luin:* (ROB 2 Jan 1755, ROB 4 Mar 1755, ROB 6 Jun 1755)

*Yui: Da Ya:* (ROB 13 Sep 1806, ROB 4 Jan 1807, ROB 25 Mar 1807, ROB 13 Mar 1807, ROB 31 Mar 1807, ROB 18 Apr 1807, ROB 13 Oct 1807, ROB 17 Nov 1807, ROB 18 Oct 1808, ROB 21 Oct 1808, ROB 27 Mar 1810, ROB 6 Feb 1811, ROB 25 Feb 1859, ROB 11 Apr 1879)

*Ywan:* (ROB 8 Jan 1767)

*Rakhuin* (ROB 24 Jul 1787)

*Rham:* (ROB 12 Jul 1787, ROB 2 Aug 1787, ROB 13 Aug 1787, ROB 25 Aug 1787, ROB 23 Apr 1806, ROB 29 Jun 1806, ROB 24 Jul 1806, ROB 31 Mar 1807, ROB 7 Apr 1807, ROB 21 Oct 1808)

*Lu: Wa* (ROB 29 Apr 1806, ROB 7 APR 1807)

We have mentioned above that after having conquered either a *Mwan Ta Luin:* or *Rham:* *Ywan:* *Yui: Da Ya:* or *Ka San:* *Ku La:* place, war captives were brought to central plains of *Mranma* and given land to cultivate<sup>3</sup>. There were more races in the land than before and 'a hundred and one races'(ROB 2 Jun 1679) would simply mean that there were many new comers and they were welcome. More people meant more cultivators and the land became more productive. As it was the arrangement in those days these armed men together



with their family members became cultivators. They usually received good land among the *Ara Toau* Royal Land, and *Wat Ta Kan* Religious Land, located in the well irrigated *Kyok Chan* or *Ca Lan*: lands. Sometimes they would be sent to claim land from forest and start the irrigation system in that locality.

Population in Kyaukse was maintained by fresh batch of prisoners of war ...

To be a casual tenant was not serfdom but an honour<sup>4</sup>.

*Mranma* descendants from *Jan: May* [Chiengmai] were known as *Kon Han* and together with the *Rham*: they were formed into three groups of armed men called *Ywan: Kon Han* , *Wan: Kon Han* and *Tap Kon Han* and they got land 'to cultivate, to live and to share' along the *Mu: and Khyan: Twan:* rivers. *Ana Rham:* - Up Stream Shan, or *Rham: Kri:* - Great Shan, from *Mui: Nhan:* and *Mui: Kon:* were settled in *Pancala Na: Mrui,* ( *Nhak Pyo, Non Pan* , *Naga: Can* , *Pan: Sa* and *Rwa Sa* ) , in *Kan, Bha Lu* area. *Ywan:* from *Jan: May* [Chiengmai] were sent to start local irrigation systems in *Nway Ta Mai* near *Kya Pan:* in *Man: Pu:* . Some *Ta Luin:* were settled at *Rhwe Bhum Sa* , *Ji: Kun:* , *Chu: Le Kun:* and *Pran Ka* in *Ca Kuin:* area. Among them there were elephant men too who would catch wild elephants, tame them and keep them for the king. It was necessary to send them to places close to deep forests where elephant could roam and find their own food or where supply of elephant fodder would be plentiful. Naturally they arrived to live in *Man: Krui* and *Ok Kyon:* near *Caku* , *Man: Kyan: Pra* and *Chan Kya* near *Ca Lan:* and *Sa Lwan: Tan* near *Phon Lan:* in *Man: Pu:* area; *Mran: Rhac Chay* near *Ca Le* in *Mran: Khram* area; *Nhak Pyo To* near *Re Ca Krui* , *Chan Khre Ra* and *Pan: To Rwa* near *Pu Kham: Kri:* in *Pakhukku* area; and at *Chan To* near *Ma U* , *Sac Cim:* , *Cha: Thum:* and *Na Khum* in *Mum Rwa* area.

Craftsmen of *Ta Luin:* origin were settled in *Mran: Khram* area at villages now called *Rhwe Ka* [Gold Shields], *Chan Ka* [Howdahs], *Ka Phru* [White Saddles for Commoners], *Ka Mai* [Black Saddles for Junior Officers], and *Ka Ni* [Saddles for Senior Officers], *San: Ta Poau* and *San: Ta Ra* [Hairdressers], and *Pum Sa* [Pleasant Drums]. In one royal order we find that five *Ta Luin:* families were added to an elephant group and eight *Rakhuin* families were made religious servants at the *Mahamuni* (ROB 21 Aug 1787). Indians of Islamic faith were settled in *Mre Tu:* in *Muchuiw Bhui* , *Pan: Ya* and *Kan Lu* in *Ca Kuin:* , *Yan: Toau* in *Raman: San:* , and *Lak Pam* in *Kyok Chan*. *Barangyi* [Feringhi, Eurasians who formed the Christian community] were settled at *Parinma* in *Ca Kuin:* first and later scattered among villages between the *Mu:* and *Khyan: Twan:* rivers. Occasionally Europeans captured in war would be added to these groups. An appendix to a document (dated 25 April 1837) gives where these foreigners were living and how many of them were taken to serve in the fighting forces.

Natives and Foreigners in Villages east of the *Mu:* river in 1783

Village	Native	Foreigner	Total	Armed Men
<i>Ka Lum</i>				3
<i>Kan Pa Rac</i>				16
<i>Kya:</i>	12	132	144	55
<i>Kron San:</i>	10	31	41	5
<i>Khan Lap</i>	21	15	36	
<i>Na Can</i>	4	3	7	

Na: Rum		30	30	20
Cac Lyan	1	1	2	
Chan An:	76	68	144	55
Non Pan Sa	7	27	34	11
Nha Ma Ja Rac	16	29	45	11
Pa Ran	26	127	153	10
Pan: Tam Chip	12	33	45	11
Ma Up	97	24	121	23
Mu: Sa	165	37	202	55
Mui: Kon:	4	6	10	3
Mok Bham:	5	27	32	4
Mun Ton Kri:	51	66	117	10
Mun Ton Lha	12	37	49	10
Mun Lha	126	124	250	15
Mra Kan				8
Mrui, Lha Ji: Phru Kun:	80	63	143	12
Mrui, Sac Kri:	26	131	157	19
Mran Kya Man Kran: Sup	54	32	86	10
Mran: Ton	8		8	
Mran: Mrok	31	22	53	11
Mran: Ci: Mrok	42	4	46	11
Yu Toau Mu	13	205	218	108
Yan: Tuik	199	184	383	115
Rhan Man: Thwe:				2
Rhap Ti (Pyak)	10	2	12	
Rhwe Ku				3
Lip Khyan	243	29	272	13
Wan Can		21	21	
Sa Pre Pan Man:		23	23	6
Sa Lum Ton	29	11	40	29
Sa Lum Mrok	24	1	25	
Sawatti	167	246	413	25
On Khyam: Sa	50	23	73	9
Uin Pon: Khyon	46	45	91	33
	1,667	1,859	3,526	751

[About twenty one per cent of the population were recruited and about seventy per cent of them were foreigners.]

In about 1867 it was reported that there were 500 Feringhis in *Mantale:* , 300 in *Na Bhak* , 400 in *Khyon: U:* , 483 in *Mumlha* , 120 in *Re U:* and 600 in *Khyam: Sa* 5. In addition to the obvious ethnic divisions like *Rham:* in the east, *Taluin:* and *Karan* in the south and southeast, *Rakhuin* and *Khyan:* in the west, *Rham:* and *Kachyan* in the north, the central plains would have *Mranma* plus a considerable number of *Kula: Pyak* - naturalized foreigners, some of whom would be simply regarded as the members of such religious communities as Christians and Muslims. *Rham:* , *Ywan:* , and Thais would soon lost their racial identity and merge with the natives. Except in the time of war they were all cultivators and according to the customary law every stranger in a certain place was *Sum: kha lan Asan phrac* taken as native after three years<sup>6</sup> .

All foreigners who came to trade or serve the king on contract were allowed for the time that they lived in *Mranma* either to build their own residential quarters or rent houses and have native women for wives (ROB 3 Apr 1667) but they were not allowed either to sell their houses nor to take with them their native wives and children born to them when they leave (ROB 18 Nov 1657)<sup>7</sup>. The *Mrui, Wan* Town Officer, in *Hamsawati* who often had to meet foreigners was allowed to use magnificent dress in order to impress them (ROB 9 Feb 1806). For the same reason the envoys to *Kyoau Pran* - Vietnam, (ROB 4 Mar 1806) and *Sihuil* Srilanka, (ROB 9 Feb 1810) were given a rise in one rank and to dress accordingly. Gifts of foreigners received (at the Customs House) had to be given proportionately to *Mrui, Wan* Town Officer, and his followers too (ROB 28 Jul 1787). At the capital city *Sam Tai* Tents for Envoys, were built on the south of *Ton Sa Man* (ROB 14 Jun 1795). Overseas traders who were generally known as *Asum: Toau Kham* - Royal Commission Agents, often visited the capital city and were granted royal audience. Once the following came with presents for more concessions (ROB 8 Sep 1817).

Jacob Agazar	Armenia
Sre Bangalon	Turkey
Carapiet	Armenia
Noranji	Persia
Ratanji	Bengal

Probably they would be asked to buy fancy goods for the queens and guns for the king. Brahmins from India or Assam or *Rakhuin* came as court astrologers. There were also some Muslims of India who came to *Mranma* probably as mercenaries and became naturalized. As their number increased considerably after many generations King Sirimahasihasura *Cane Man: 1698-1714* gave them *Ne Mre* - Place to Live, in the following twelve places<sup>8</sup>.

*Canputtara*  
*Can Sa*  
*Non Ram:*  
*Ta Pa Yan:*  
*Ta Pak Chwai*  
*Ton Nu*  
*Pan: Ta Lai*  
*Bo dhi*  
*Mitthila*  
*Mre Tu:*  
*Yan: Toau and*  
*Ra Man: San: .*

One Abisha Hussani was made their religious leader in 1807 (ROB 17 Nov 1807). He brought with him various works in Arabic and they were translated into *Mranma* (ROB 16 Dec 1807).

Very briefly *Mranma* were not having good relations with her neighbours. They asked Thailand to send back the people who fled from *Tha: Way* into their towns along the border (ROB 15 Jan 1760, ROB 19 Jan 1760) and when that was ignored the king considered it as one good excuse to invade Thailand (ROB 20 Feb 1760) which he actually started on 21 December 1759. Next there was the conquest of Thailand when Ayut'ia fell on 9 April 1767. The Chinese came to attack *Ban: Moau* on 31 December 1766 and peace was concluded with them on 15 December

1769. Manipura was taken and the victorious army returned on 23 March 1770. *Rakhuin* was taken on 2 January 1785. Following this conquest there were rebellions and on being defeated some rebels escaped into Bengal. They were given political asylum there but some of them had committed various crimes and therefore the British handed these criminals over to the *Mranma* authorities (ROB 30 May 1795). The Chinese said that former *Muin: Lyan: (Mong Li)* Chief called *Tao Sua Kong* (ROB 19 Dec 1805) was a criminal now hiding in *Mui: Nhan:* and requested the *Mranma* authorities either to seize him and send him back to China or to execute him. A letter was sent to Bengal to send back some people who fled from *Meghawati (Man On)* into Bengal (RO 25 Apr 1807). When *Kovila of Chiengmai* rebelled and when The *Mranma* troops were sent to suppress the rebellion on 24 August 1797, the Thai king came to the aid of *Kovila*. It went on like this so that no cordial relations were reestablished between the two nations though there were three Thai princesses at the Burmese court (ROB 20 Jun 1795).

From the English *Mranma* wanted cannons and guns (ROB 4 Mar 1755) in exchange of a factory site in *Pusim [Bassein]* and *Nagaraj [Negrais]*. The *Mranma* had the impression that the Englishmen were good in trading but poor in fighting (ROB 29 Oct 1757). The English settlement on the *Nagaraj [Negrais]* island was attacked and destroyed on 6 October 1759. Relationship with the English was restored in about 1761. Envoys from *Sanbho Pran - City of Ships (?Calcutta)* came to the court of *Amarapura* (ROB 26 Jun 1795, ROB 28 Jun 1795, ROB 19 Aug 1795) led by *Mi Ke San [Michael Symes]* and were received by the king on 30 August 1795. Brokers handling imports were known as *Sanbho Kun Pwai ca:* (ROB 21 Sep 1808) and each paid 100 viss of silver a year to get the licence to do so. *Man: Rai Rantamit (Ma Lwan Mrui, ca: )* went to *Sanbho Pran City of Ships (?Calcutta)*, with 1,000 ivories on *Ci: Pwa: Toau phrac King's Business* (ROB 26 Feb 1810). Making a huge profits as much as 166.6 percent was expected and *Na Rhwe Pan: , Akok Wan Customs Officer, Dwarawati (Samtwai)* was given 150 viss of silver to go to *Anok Kula: Pran Indian City in the West (?Calcutta)* (ROB 7 Mar 1810). *Jam Keni [John Canning], Lak Chon Toau chak la Lu - Man who brought Gifts for the King,* was received well (ROB 28 Feb 1810, ROB 26 Dec 1811). A sailor known by the name of *Joauraci [George]* in *Ran Kun [Rangoon]* taught English to *Na Rhwe Bhu: , Na Rhwe Rok and Na Rhwe U:* (ROB 3 Mar 1810). Gunpowder and guns were brought from foreigners presumably the English at the port of *Ratanapum (Rangoon)* (ROB 21 Feb 1810, 8 Apr 1810, ROB 12 Apr 1810). It seems that the relation with the English was good and well though it was soon proved to be just the contrary. The king said that the English were of *Wilat (Wilayat) Europe*, and they came to seize the territories of *Dili Man: Delhi King*, as well as those of *Rakhuin King like Cac Ta Kon: [Chittagong], Pan: Wa {?Ramu} and Daka [Decca]*. Technically no English permission was necessary to arrest bad characters who were *Rakhuin* now living in *Cac Ta Kon: , etc.* (ROB 22 Dec 1817). That attitude would soon bring about open hostilities. The king sent missions to India seeking alliance with anti-English elements there (ROB 6 Aug 1824). We know the rest of the story of how three wars were fought and how King *Sipo* 1878-1885 lost his throne on 29 November 1885.

A letter from the Chinese Emperor (28 Feb 1750) was received at the *Mranma* court of *Ava*. King *Mahadhammarajamahadhipati* 1733-1752 was given a

translation of it made probably not to hurt his belief that he was at least an equal in status to the great Chinese Emperor (ROB 28 Feb 1750). The Chinese wanted information about rebels in *Mranma* and they would if necessary send troops to suppress them. To the Chinese *Mranma* was within their empire. On the other hand no *Mranma* king would accept any other monarch as his superior and interpreters and translators thought it wise to give a version of the letter that would be acceptable by the *Mranma* king. This illusion on the *Mranma* side was kept up until the king believed that the three Chinese brides were sent to him in very much the same way that his vassals occasionally sent their daughters to him (ROB 18 Oct 1790). The Chinese traders received the most favoured treatment as a direct result of this arrangement (ROB 8 Jul 1795). *Tarut Wan* - Chinese Officer, looked after the interest of these Chinese traders as well as the Chinese workers employed in silver mines, etc. He collected tax from both the traders and workers and he paid annually 1,000 viss of silver to the king (ROB 15 Jun 1801). The *Mranma* products for China paid tax at *Campaynaguir* and the Chinese products for *Mranma* paid tax at *Ban: Moau* (ROB 18 Feb 1788).

Ten French sailors were seized at *Meghawati* (*Man On*) (ROB 24 Mar 1807)<sup>9</sup> together with cannons, cannon balls, etc. from their ship. The cannons were sent to *Amarapura* and the Frenchmen were sent to *Hamsawati* (ROB 1 Nov 1807). We do not know why they were arrested nor what happened to them after they arrived in *Hamsawati*. Probably they were sent to the Feringhi communities between the *Mu:* and *Chan: Twan:* rivers.

The earliest mention of *Kyoau Ka San:* Vietnam, was found in the territorial limits of Buddhist land made on 2 February 1638 as :

PLaces where the Buddha's teachings are accepted extends in the east to people who have one ear pierced, one cheek coloured, one mole on the face of a blackened forehead, until the land of *Kyoau Ka San:* Vietnam, is reached... Guards are posted all along the approaches to the land of Buddhism and the first guard station (that an outsider) meets and finds for the first time a flag of (the Buddhist king) flying would be at the place where people have only one ear pierced, one cheek coloured and forehead blackened, at *Kyoau Ka San:* Vietnam, *Gum Kengtung*, *Lan Jan:* - *Viencheng*, *Tanansari*, etc. (Cambu 1960, pp. 8, 31 and 48-49)  
*Gum Kengtung*, land in the east meets the land of *Kyoau Ka San:* - Vietnam (Cambu 1960, p. 31).

A letter dated 8 October 1774<sup>10</sup> is on keeping friendly relations between the two countries of *Awa* and *Kyoau Ka San:* -Vietnam. It would be sent by an envoy going east by an overland route through *Kyuin:* *Rum Kri:* *Kenghung*. A return mission came and the king wanted the members of the mission to visit his temporary palace at *Man: Kwan:* (ROB 17 Jun 1801). *Surin Mani Pyam KhyI Kyoau Cwa* accompanied it on its return. When he reached the *Lu: 12 Panna:* the king sent more instructions to him by express couriers (ROB 5 Jul 1801). When he came back, the king said that he would stop using the insignias of an envoy because they were too high for him and he had had the permission to use them just to impress the foreigners he met abroad (ROB 4 Mar 1806). A letter to ministers of *Kyoau Ka San:* Vietnam, from the ministers of *Awa* was composed by *Man: Kri:: Noratha, Buil Mhu:* Commander, *Mui: Nai* and the king approved it (ROB 15 Jul 1806). When *Turanpati* and thirty men on their way to Vietnam reached *Muin: Ka* on the east of the *Mai Khon* river, they were

recalled for what reasons we do not know (ROB 16 Nov 1807). To destroy the common enemy the Thais and to extend the Hinayana Buddhism, the *Mranma* king thought of renewing the relations with Vietnam in about 1820. But the Vietnamese were interested only in trade. *Ka Twe Lam* (Cao-dahn-lan) and *Du Ha Brai* from Vietnam came and were received well at Amarapura (ROB 25 Apr 1822). On their return on 18 September 1822, *Ne Mrui: Siri Sura Noratha* went with them with a proposal of the *Mranma* to enter an offensive and defensive alliance with Vietnam against Thailand. The proposal was turned down and the *Mranma* envoy left Saigon on 14 March 1824. War between the *Mranma* and English broke out on 5 March 1824. At *Tha: Way* the envoy received the king's order to proceed to the capital city immediately (ROB 5 Sep 1824) but the English captured *Tha: Way* and he was taken as a prisoner of war.

*Asan* - Common Folks, were expected to do corvee but they took orders from only *Rwa Su Kri*: Village Headman, and *Mre Tuin Su Kri*: Land Tract Headman. It means that when other officers like *Tap Buil* Captain of Armed Men, or *Mran Ci*: Leader of Horsemen, wanted any labourer, they could not ask the villagers to serve them except through their chief (ROB 7 Jun 1801). Again there were some people who did not take orders from a local chief. They were the people who were put directly under the charge of an officer on a special assignment. For instance there were scribes copying the *Pitaka* (ROB 30 Jun 1784, ROB 20 Sep 1785, ROB 25 Sep 1785, ROB 14 Dec 1785), *Kyi Wan Wan Cu* Men working under Officer of Granaries to procure things of palace consumption (ROB 12 Nov 1804), Queen Dowager's servants (ROB 12 Apr 1791), *Kam Kywe*: Workers for various constructions, *Thum: Sut* Workers of White Washing, and *Than: Khut* - Fire Wood Gatherers.

Silver coins were probably used by *Pyu* as the medium of exchange from about the 7th or 8th century AD or earlier but when *Pu Kam* became the centre of *Mranma* political power in the 12th century there were no coins as currency. The *Rakhuin* had silver coins probably from as early as the 5th century AD but the *Mranma* continued to have no silver coins until the time of King *Pa Tum* 1782-1819. Early in his reign he issued an order that using and making *Nwe Kram*: *Nwe Chan*: Silver Coarse Silver Attractive, were not allowed (ROB 16 Oct 1783). But he gave the people some time to stop using bad silver called *Wam Pwa* - Bulging Belly, *Nwe Cui*, Silver Sprout, *Rwak Se*: Small Leaf, (ROB 16 Oct 1783, ROB 23 Jul 1784). From 12 April 1785 he allowed only the use of good silver called *Rwak Ni* Red Leaf (ROB 23 Jul 1784). For *Rakhuin* he issued new coins bearing the date *Sakkaraj* 1146 (AD 1784) (ROB 28 Jan 1795, ROB 13 Mar 1788, ROB 4 Oct 1787). A copper coin with the figure of two fish on one side and the date *Sakkaraj* 1143 *khu Tapuiwtwai la pran kyoau* 14 rak [11 February 1782] (ROB 18 Feb 1788, ROB 1 Jul 1795). He received reports that *Rakhuin* silver coins were made of inferior silver (ROB 15 Jul 1801, ROB 13 Aug 1806, ROB 25 Oct 1806). Next he found that people did not really want to use copper coins (OB 13 AUG 1812). He therefore allowed them to use lead as medium of exchange as before (ROB 13 Aug 1812)<sup>11</sup>. Another king who tried to issue coins was King *Sarawati* 1837-1846. He ordered that the coin would bear the figure of (full) moon on one side and the figure of a hare on the other side (ROB 10 October 1837). King *Man: Tum*: 1853-1878 issued a coin with the figure of *Rhwe Pran Cui*: Common Iora (*Aegithena tiphia*) on one side and the *Anno Buddhae* 2396 (AD 1853) on the other side (ROB 29 Jan 1854, ROB 14 Sep 1864). Silver coins, one bearing the

figure of peacock with spread tail on one side and *Sakkaraj* 1214 (AD 1853) on the other side and another bearing the figure of peacock with folded tail on one side and *Sakkaraj* 1222 (AD 1860) on the other was also minted. Peacock coins with either (*Sakkaraj* ) 1214 (AD 1853) or (*Sakkaraj* ) 1228 (AD 1866) were minted too. There were also gold coins of lion dated (*Sakkaraj* ) 1228 (AD 1866) and lead coins of hare dated ( *Sakkaraj* ) 1231 (AD 1869). King *Sipo* 1878-1885 struck copper coins of *Tui*: Lion Deer Hybrid, bearing the (*Sakkaraj* ) 1240 (AD 1878).

On debts the official attitude was based on two maxims, viz.  
*Mu Chuiw Ma Wan* A widow tackles a hard task, and  
*Pan Ran: thak Akhak ma pwa:* Branches together would never grew out of proportions to the Trunk. In other words payment on easy terms was recommended and exorbitant interest charges like compound interest were altogether denied (ROB 3 Mar 1782). There would possibly be cases where a son or a daughter was made slave to settle some debts incurred by his or her parents (ROB 11 Jun 1664) but the king said that man in the king's service would never become a debtor slave (ROB 10 Apr 1679, ROB 16 Jul 1692). The officer under whom the man served shall do everything to save him from slavery (ROB 16 Jul 1692) and he was advised to study well the chapter on slaves and their redemption given in the *Dhammasat* before he tackled the case (ROB 19 Aug 1758). In fact he had to work within the legal framework without taking advantage of his official status to get back his mean. On the other hand the slave owner as well as the money lender would be an influential person too dangerous to contend with by a minor officer. At about the beginning of a foreign war officers had to borrow large sums of money to get the recruits fully equipped (ROB 15 Oct 1787, OB 7 Nov 1787, ROB 19 Jun 1801). Money lenders were not allowed to sue for the return of the money before the war was over. Another royal order forbade all money lenders to employ agents to get their money repaid (ROB 6 Mar 1783) or to make any attempt for the return of all the loans within a limited time (ROB 1 Mar 1569)

During a war vassals and other high ranking officers of the enemy king were persuaded to defect. The phrase used to win over them was :

*Can: cim ma pyak Asak me se Ne ra ma nim* that he would be allowed to live without being alienated from the ownership of his former property nor he would be denied of his official rank and status (ROB 18 Jan 1756).

Even the enemy king himself was offered these terms if he would be willing to accept a 'subordinate alliance' (ROB 28 Sep 1756). When *Man: Khon Noratha* rebelled he persuaded his former comrades to help him (on the promise of giving the said terms) (ROB 12 Sep 1760). Long before the campaign against *Rakhuin* local chiefs there were also promised these terms (ROB 20 Sep 1774).

*Aparihaniya* Ways to save deterioration (or ways to achieve progress), are considered as best to promote development in a state and they are seven as follows :

- 1 The king and all his officers meet three times a day to discuss the affairs of state.
- 2 When there is a problem all men concerned meet and work together to solve it.
- 3 All relevant cases are studied before a certain decision is made.
- 4 Respect the elders and the learned and follow their advice.
- 5 Never take women without consent.

- 6 Continue the customary offerings made to guardian spirits.  
 7 Provide various amenities to the holy men in residence and invite others to come<sup>12</sup>.

This idea was borrowed from a Buddhist text called *Mahaparinibbana Sutta*. The whole programme is based on the benefits of *Sannipata* Congregation, and *Samagga* Unity.

Intergroup marriages were more or less discouraged because there was the problem even among the palace servant groups in the division of children of these unions as to which group should get which child (ROB 23 Jun 1607). For instance when a member of the *Sabhan Toau Cu* Group of Royal Entertainers, married a member of any other group of palace servants, all girls born of the union joined the *Mibhura: Ci Ti:* Queen's Own Drums. Children of a prince with any palace servant girl would never be recognized as one of royal blood but all children of such union would join the *Sabhan Toau Cu* Group of Royal Entertainers (ROB 23 Jun 1607). The king would transfer anyone of these children from one palace servant group to another but not even the king could or would not put the child in any other group of a higher status (ROB 23 Jun 1607). A son born of a palace guard and a palace servant woman joined the gun group (ROB 1 May 1662). All children of a union where one partner was of the elephant group joined the elephant group without exception (ROB 28 Feb 1664) and no children of an elephant group could be given away to settle a debt (ROB 11 June 1664). The following table might help to show where a child goes in these mixed marriages.

Division of Children of Intergroup Marriages

ROB	Father	Mother	Son	Daughter
23 Jun 1607	Palace Servant	Palace Nautch	Palace Servant	Queen's Own Drum
	Prince	Palace Nautch	Palace Etr.	Palace Nautch
1 May 1662	Palace Gunner	Palace Servant	Gunner	Palace Servant
	Other Slave	Palace Servant	Palace Servant	Palace Servant
11 Jun 1664	Elephant Man	Other Slave	Elephant Group	Elephant Group
	Other Slave	Elephant Group	Elephant Group	Elephant Group
15 Jan 1666	P Guard, Shield	Woman of any	Father's Group	Mother's Group
	P Guard, Gun	one of these		
	<i>Ca Mron</i>	Groups		
	<i>Caduceus</i>			
	<i>Bearer</i>			
	<i>Bhwa: bhak</i>			
	<i>Kyoau</i>			
	<i>Messenger</i>			
	<i>Sa: Pok</i> Palace			
	Menial			
	Labourer			
	<i>Alup Akhyup</i>			
	Tailor			
	<i>Rhe, Toau Pre:</i>			
	Drummer			
	<i>UYanToau Con,</i>			
	Gardener			
	<i>Myakpa: - Gold</i>			



	Foil Maker				
	<i>Rhwe Pan: Pan - Lamuin:</i>	Royal	<i>Lamuin:</i>	Royal	<i>Lamuin:</i> Royal
	Horseman	Cultivator	Cultivator	Cultivator	
	<i>Pon: Messenger</i>				
	Other Slave				
	<i>Kyon: Mhi</i>				
	<i>Kyon: Kywan</i>				
	Monastery				
	Dependent				
	and Slave				
	<i>Asan Common</i>				
	Folk				
14 Jun 1666	King's Servant	Free Woman	King's Servant	King's Servant	
	Free Man	King's Servant	King's Servant	King's Servant	
	Slave Man	Free Woman	2/3 Free	1/3 Slave	irrespective of sex
13 Aug 1671	Any Man from	Any Woman	<i>Thon</i>	<i>Thon</i>	
	<i>Thon 1000</i>	from <i>Sanat</i>			
	<i>Tamkha: Gate</i>	<i>Kyon: Mhi</i>	<i>Tamkha:</i>	<i>Tamkha:</i>	
	<i>Lakmathon,</i>	<i>Kyon: Kywan</i>	<i>Lakmathon,</i>	<i>Lakmathon,</i>	
		Porter			
		Other Slave			
10 Apr 1679	<i>Sa: Pok - Palace</i>	Other Servant	<i>Sa: Pok</i>	irrespective of sex	
	Menial Labourer				
	Other Servant	<i>Sa: Pok</i>	<i>Sa: Pok</i>	irrespective of sex	
	Free Man	Slave Woman	Free	Slave	
15 Aug 1679	Any Man from	Any Woman	Father's Group	Mother's Group	
corrects ROB	<i>Thon</i>		from <i>Sanat</i>		
13 Aug 1671	<i>Tamkha:</i>	<i>Kyon: Mhi</i>			
	<i>Lakmathon,</i>	<i>Kyon: Kywan</i>			
	Porter				
	Other Slave				
5 Oct 1681	Religious Slave	Slave or Free	Religious Slave	Religious Slave	
	Slave or Free	Religious Slave	Religious Slave	Religious Slave	
12 Dec 1686					
to say slave					
or free use					
old orders					
for those					
born on or					
before 1666					
and new					
ones after					
1666					
27 Apr 1691	Servant (same	Servant (same	Father's Group	Mother's Group	
Take this	class with wife)	class with hbd)			
order as	Servant (class	Servant (class	Father's Group	Father's Group	
final;	lower than wife)	higher than hbd)			
divisions	Servant (class	Servant (class	Mother's Group	Mother's Group	

made higher than wife) lower than hbd)  
before 1685  
remained  
undisturbed

Free Man	Slave Woman	2/3 free1/3 slave irrespective of sex
Slave Man	Free Woman	Slave (all sons) Slave (all dtrs)

8 Jul 1694  
Divisions  
made before  
1685 were  
confirmed

25 Dec 1783	Religious Slave	Other Slave	Religious Slave	Religious Slave
	Other Slave	Religious Slave	Religious Slave	Religious Slave
	Menial Labourer	Other Slave	Menial Labourer	Menial Labourer

	Other Slave	Menial Labourer	Menial Labourer	Menial Labourer
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16 Aug 1784	Service Man	Asan	Father's Group	Father's Group
	Asan	Service Group	Father's Group	Father's Group
	Service Man	Service Group	to be decided later	

3 Dec 1784	Service Man	Service Group	Inferior Group	Inferior Group
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3 Jan 1785  
No more  
intergroup  
marriages  
save a few  
exceptions  
to be  
announced  
later

27 Jul 1787  
same as  
27 Apr 1691  
17 Apr 1787  
same as

27 Apr 1691				
30 May 1829	Kyi Wan Cu	Asan	Kyi Wan Cu	Kyi Wan Cu
	Asan	Kyi Wan Cu	Kyi Wan Cu	Kyi Wan Cu
	Rhwe Pran	Asan	Asan	Asan Senat
	Chan Khre	Asan	Asan	Asan
	Bhum: Senat			
	Ywan: (Na Bhak)	Kyi Wan Cu	Kyi Wan Cu	Kyi Wan Cu
	Asan	Ywan:	Ywan:	Ywan:
		(Na Bhak)	(Na Bhak)	(Na Bhak)
	Asan	Ton Bhak Duin:	Ton Bhak Duin:	Ton Bhak Duin:
	Rhwe Pran	Ton Ta Lum:	Rhwe Pran	Ton Ta Lum:
	Senat	Mran:	Senat	Mran:
	Asan	Mran: Cu	Asan	Asan

13 Mar 1853 *Asan*

*Acu*

*Acu*

*Acu*

The first mention of *Caka: Pran* Interpreter, was found late in the 17th century. When one of the parties in a law suit was for instance a *Karan* or *Kula:* or *Taluin:* or *Yan:* or *Ywan:* or *Rham:* who did not speak *Mranma* he was allowed to use an interpreter (ROB 12 Apr 1691). Anyone including a relative of the non-*Mranma* speaking plaintiff or defendant or witness could do the interpreting. But no court messengers were allowed to do it. Interpreters were also in use at sea port towns. They were appointed by the central government with the recommendation of the *Akok Wan* Customs Officer, of the port. In *Rankun* the English interpreter was *Cintamani* (ROB 20 Oct 1787). An official letter from Yunnan Governors, etc. usually passed through a *Rham:* town at the *Mranma* China border and a preliminary check would have been made there to know the contents of the letter. At the capital city it was translated into *Mranma*. *Tarut Tan: Khon:* Heas of China Town, called *Siwa*

*Rama Kyoau Than Na Rhwe U:* was Chinese interpreter serving *Lhwattoau* (ROB 24 Jul 1806, ROB 5 Oct 1807). When the king was about to launch another Thai invasion he had *Na Lha* and twenty eight *Caka: Pran* Interpreters, ready (ROB 6 Oct 1808). With family members there were 81 men, 24 boys, 59 women and 27 girls, a total of 191 persons. At *Rankun* port *Joauraci* [George], *Sambho Sukri* Ship Captain, reported that in addition to being *Caka: Pran* Interpreter, *Ca Pran* Translator, he was English instructor of *Na Rhwe Pu*, *Na Rhwe Bhu:*, *Na Rhwe Rok* and *Na Rhwe U:*. He said that by a royal order he had been teaching those four boys who got free food, board and instructions and in order to defray part of the expenses on their account he petitioned for having a sole right to buy and sell the foreign fabric brought as gifts to the Customs House (ROB 3 Mar 1810) and he also petitioned for exempting these boys and their family members from corvée by local chiefs. His petition was granted. *Na Pin* a foreigner living in *Rankun* in the service of Princess *Kyok Moau* applied for a licence promising to pay fifty ticals of gold a year to do alone all the task of interpreting when a foreign ship's captain came to report arrival at the Custom's House and to do the selling of his goods if he chose to do so only at her brokerage (ROB 17 Nov 1810). The petition was granted. Other interpreters we know were *Rham:* and *Ywan:*. *Na Rhwe U:* and *Na Nui:* who translated the list of twelve *Panna* in *Kyin:* *Yum Kri:* [Kenghung] dated 28 May 1842. Later *U: Nui:* became *Ywan:* *Sam Kham* Interpreter and Officer to receive *Ywan:* Envoys, and on 14 January 1864 he made the list of fifty seven *Jan: Mai* [Chiengmai] towns. *Rhan Teja Siddhi, Mrui, Care:*, made the list of thirty two *Kyuin: Tum* [Kengtung] on 30 August 1866. Probably he wrote the list in *Gum*, language of the province and another *Rham Sam Kham* Officer to receive *Rham* envoys, had to translate them into *Mranma* for future reference.

There were some festivals which were discontinued in *Mranma* today. They were *Mi: Pan:*; *Lhwat* - Festival of Fireworks, celebrated in May (ROB 9 May 1810, ROB May 1810); *Kok Sac Ca: Pwai* - Festival to eat the New Rice, held at the same time with the new year festival (ROB 3 Feb 1811, ROB 7 Jan 1812); and *Mi: Pwai* - Festival of Lamps, that lasted one month (ROB 18 September 1817). As the common folks had adopted many Buddhist festivals they had forgotten several of their primitive ones. The new rice festival might be one of them. They had however maintained the worship of ancestors as *Rui: ra Nat Kan To*, and the annual offerings made to them were done at about the time of summer solstice

(about 21 June) and/or the time of the autumnal equinox (about 22 September) though they had been merged with the festival of paying respect to elders at the beginning and end of Buddhist Lent which occurred approximately around those solstice and equinox days. The light festival however was Buddhist but it would evolve by losing and gaining some aspects through the march of time so that today's festival would differ considerably from that of the earlier times.

The royal family adopted many Brahmanical ceremonies and that included the coronation and other ceremonies like naming the child, hair shampooing, marriage and death rites. The kings always insisted that these ceremonies were done strictly as prescribed in the Brahminical texts<sup>12</sup> several of which were imported quite often from India (ROB 14 Mar 1574). The ceremonies and festivals observed at the *Mranma* court were :

*Kathin Pwai* - Offering the Hard Robe to Monks at the End of Lent (ROB 2 Oct 1787)

*Kok Sac Ca: Pwai* - Eating the New Rice at the Time of New Year (ROB 8 Feb 1806)

*Calway Tan Pwai* - Receiving the Shoulder Thread (ROB 3 Jun 1784, ROB 26 Jun 1785, ROB 20 Jul 1785, ROB 4 Nov 1786, ROB 14 Mar 1806)

*Chan Sim: Pwai* - Ceremony of becoming the Lord of (White) Elephant (ROB 11 Dec 1806)

*Chimi: Mran, Muir Pwai* - Terrace of Lamps Festival (ROB 12 Sep 1787, Rob 18 Sep 1806)

*Jayabhiseka* - Coronation on Success (ROB 21 Jan 1827)

*Non Re Swan: Pwai* - Watering the Bodhi Tree Festival (ROB 26 Apr 1806)

*Thim Mra: Lak Thap Pwai* - Marriage Ceremony (ROB 21 Jan 1787, ROB 23 Jan 1805, ROB 22 Apr 1806)

*Thwak Toau Mu Kri:* - The Royal Pageant (ROB 31 Aug 1787, ROB 13 Feb 1788)

*Na: Thwan: Shyon Thum: Takbhayak Tan* - Ceremony of Hair tied, Ear pierced and Shoulder Ornaments given ((ROB 18 Feb 1788, ROB 24 Mar 1788, ROB 12 Sep 1819, ROB 17 Oct 1833)

*Nan: Sim: Pwai* - Ceremony of occupying the New Palace (BOB 22 Feb 1823, ROB 9 Feb 1824)

*Nhac Sac Kan To, Pwai* - New Year Kowtow (held on the fortieth day after the New Year)

*Brai Tuik Sim:* - Opening the Interior Court

*Mrui, Sim:* - Occupying the New City

*Muddhabhiseka* - Coronation by pouring Water on the King's Head (ROB 5 Apr 1568, ROB 3 Jun 1784, ROB 18 Mar 1796, ROB 22 Feb 1823)

*Re Sa Bhan* - Water Festival held for three days at the End of the Year (ROB 8 Apr 1783, ROB 13 Feb 1806, ROB 11 Mar 1806)

*Rhan Bhuran Mwe: Ne,* - King's Birthday (ROB 22 Mar 1788)

*Lay Thwan Mangala* - Royal Ploughing Ceremony

*Lhe Pwai* - Boat Race (ROB 21 Aug 1787, ROB 1 Sep 1806)

*Lhwat Sim:* - Opening the Central Administrative Centre (ROB 29 May 1787, ROB 7 Nov 1819)

*Wa Kywat Kanto,* - End of the Buddhist Lent Kowtow (ROB 27 Sep 1806, ROB 2 Sep 1819)

*Wa Wan Kanto,* - Beginning of the Buddhist Lent Kowtow (ROB 28 Dec 1787, ROB 19 Jun 1806)

*Sankram Toau Khoau* Royal Hair Shampoo (ROB 24 Nov 1810)  
*Akasa Chimi: Pujoau Pwai* Terrace Lamps Festival (ROB 6 Sep 1806)  
*U: Kan Sa Phwan, Pwai* Opening the Throne Room (ROB 3 Jun 1784, ROB 16 Sep 1819, ROB 27 Mar 1824)

Among the artisans painters seem to be quite popular. They painted the Jataka stories either on temple walls or on *purapuik* and drew illuminated mantras on drum, gong, door panmel, etc. They were given separate quarters to live within 200 *ta* (700 yards) outside the city gate (ROB 22 Sep 1808). Some of them specialized in drawing floral designs as decoration on boats and barges (ROB 1 Sep 1819). Men and women skilled in entertaining (by singing, dancing, play acting and playing instrumental music) were also popular in palace service (ROB 13 May 1806, ROB 29 Aug 1819).

Early in the *Kun: Bhon* period *Manipura* was a prize conquest. It sent a tribute every year and a bride for the king once in every three years. It had to send a force 2,000 strong in time of war (ROB 19 Jan 1759). This arrangement did not last long. Five years later *Manipura* did not send the yearly tribute. When it was demanded (2 July 1764) *Manipura* just ignored it. That prompted the *Mranma* to launch yet another invasion of *Manipura*. The result was that many of its people were brought back to *Mranma* and given as servants to princesses, etc. (ROB 26 Nov 1787, ROB 24 Mar 1788). Some were employed as cultivators and gardeners (ROB 6 Jun 1795). There were also *Ka San: Methi / Cassay*, and *Akkapat* Cachar, horsemen who came to serve the *Mranma* king (ROB 18 Jul 1787). *Ka San: Mran: Wan* Cassay Horse Officer, was their commander (ROB 29 Nov 1787). Thus the relation with *Mranma* and *Manipur* was slave raids alternating with tributes and brides during the whole of the 18th century and the first quarter of the 19th century. Because of a rebellion in Jorhat, Bur Phukan, King of Jorhat asked help from *Mranma*. *Nemrui: Sura Kyoau Khon*, Town Officer, *Ban: Moau* was sent with 10,000 men (ROB 28 Oct 1816). *Nemrui: Siddhi Kyoau Than*, Town Officer, *Mui: Kon: and Naya Rai Khon*, Town Officer, *Mui: Nhan:* also joined the campaign with their own troops (ROB 30 Jul 1817). It was alleged that these two later officers allowed their men to maraud the country and seize the people for slavery (ROB 28 Jul 1817). The accusations were proved correct (ROB 12 Aug 1817) and they were told to send back the people they brought and return the property they robbed. Chandragandasinh, the *Mranma* nominee was put on the throne (ROB 8 Sep 1817) and Princess *Sakkadeva* was brought back by *Ban: Moau* Officer as bride for the *Mranma* king (ROB 12 Aug 1817). An envoy came with the bride and the king said that as Assam was now part of his empire this envoy would not be treated like any other foreign envoys (ROB 10 Sep 1817). An order was passed that *Mui: Kon:* and *Mui: Nhan:* Officers had to hand over the slaves they brought from Assam to Princess *Sakkadeva* (ROB 26 Oct 1817). It seemed that the people were already scattered in order to cover up their guilt so that they were unable to obey the order with the usual promptness and another order was passed not to delay in obeying orders (ROB 6 Nov 1817). In the meanwhile a letter was sent to the *Maharaja* of *Manipura* to drive out the English from his territories (ROB 8 Mar 1818). Six years had passed. Peace was finally restored in Assam and a change from military to civil administration was made (ROB 22 Feb 1823).

To improve the indigenous skill in using medicinal herbs to cure illnesses *King Pa Dum* 1782-1819 imported some important works on medicine in

Sanskrit from India and had them translated into *Mranma* . With some Brahmins from Beneres and some learned men from Bengal a committee was formed under the supervision of the learned *Mranma* monks to do the translation and to adapt the knowledge so gained to practical use. A similar programme was done on works imported from India on astrology, history, law, mathematics, etc. He also introduced the idea to maintain a house for the aged, the sick and the mad (ROB 28 Jul 1812).

We have two notes dated 21 January 1777 and 1 March 1822 on *Sa Bhan* (*Sabha*) - Assembly (where there is an entertainment of singing or dancing or both with musical accompaniment). The rules and regulations given in these notes on how the musical performers and performances were controlled afforded a very good and interesting study. The *Sa Bhan Wan* Officer of Entertainment, was supposed to be all powerful to enforce the rules and in this way the whole profession became most respectful and orderly. Unfortunately there never was such an officer and the records were presumably fakes. But we could ascertain that several of the rules were well meant and respected until now. For instance (1) no show shall proceed without offerings made to the guardian spirits of the locality where it is performed; (2) the show is always opened by a lady spirit medium who addresses first to the spirits of the stage to help the success of the show, second to the spirits of the area to ward off all evils during the period of performance and finally to the audience mentioning who the artistes are, by whose command they are performing and the name of the play to be performed; (3) either a monologue or a dialogue or a recitation of poetry should not contain ideas, words or phrases against the Buddha's Religion, the king and the people and anything obscene; and (4) a person who takes the part of either a king or a monk has to be careful not to appear exactly like the real person because the difference between the real and the imitation in this case is considered necessary. A strict censor is imposed on singing *Ma Toau Ma Tai*, - dirty and stupid, or *Amangala* - unlucky (ROB 3 Apr 1788). Young men were given training in singing (ROB 7 Jun 1801) and playing drums (ROB 5 Aug 1806). A queen was in charge of the *Miphura: Can Toau Cum Ati: Amhut* - Queen's Own Orchestra, and some young women of *Lamuin: Cultivators of Royal Land*, were given training in music to become members of the royal orchestra (ROB 21 Oct 1806). Some young men were selected to work in a marionette group as no female could participate in any puppet show (ROB 3 Jan 1807, ROB 2 Nov 1808). The history of *Rhe, Toau Pre: Can Drummers* who heralded the Royal Appearance, was compiled (ROB 20 Apr 1807) and list of men employed in marionette was made (ROB 22 Mar 1810). *Rhwe Tuik Wan* - Officer of Treasury, shall train women in prison to dance (ROB 12 Nov 1810). For the simple reason that the members of *Jat Ati: Aka* - Jataka Shows of Music and Dance, were expected to perform at any time of command, they were exempted from doing any other work (ROB 14 Nov 1810). *Rhwe Tuik Wan* Officer of Treasury, shall take charge of these entertainers including *Lu Pyak* Comedians (*Na Cam*, *Na Phru*, *Na Ae*, *Thai Na Rhwe Kru* and *Thai Na Pra:*) (ROB 14 Nov 1810).

Notes

1 See also *Tan, Up*, IV 1933, S 483, pp. 176-180

2 *Tan, Up*, II 1932, S 186, pp. 24-36

- 3 Harvey, G. E. , *History of Burma from the Earliest Times to 10 March 1924, the Beginning of the English Conquest* , London, Frank Cass & Co., 1967  
Reprint, p.347
- 4 Harvey 1967, p.318
- 5 Harvey 1967, p.349
- 6 *Manu Kyay* 1874, p.215
- 7 Harvey 1967, p.350
- 8 Ba Shin, "The Coming of Islam to Burma", *The Bulletin of Burma Historical Commission*, III, 1963, p.13
- 9 Harvey 1867, pp.348-349
- 10 National Library, *Rankun* , *Pe Ca* No.1945
- 11 *Tan , Up* , III 1932, S 395, p.139
- 12 *Tan , Up* , I 1931, S 79, p.131; S 85, p.139

## The Ruler

The *Mranma* king aspired to become a benevolent ruler and this was shown in the following Royal Order :

31 January 1827

Order: For the benefit of all creatures in this life and in lives hereafter, the king had had a coronation like all other future Buddhas had done; the learned monks and men now made the supplication to have another coronation called *Jeyabhiseka* Pour Water on Success, that would bring forth peace and prosperity in the kingdom; the *Jeyabhiseka* Pour Water on Success, ceremony shall be held on 5 March 1827; make preparations and submit a programme of it.

This Order was passed on 31 January 1827 and proclaimed by *Nemrui*: *Man: Lha Cansu*.

*Abhiseka* was an act of pouring water from a conch on the head of the king telling him what to do or what not to do for his people so that they might live in peace. He was also warned that if he failed his duty he would suffer certain miseries. People paid him one tenth of their income as tax with the understanding that he would in return protect their life and property. This arrangement was mutually beneficial and both the king and his people believed that it was a time tested programme to bring peace and prosperity to the kingdom. After *Muddhabhiseka* the king was supposed to help in the propagation and expansion of the Buddha's Religion. More territories would be conquered and new subjects would be converted to Buddhism. To mark the success of the Religion, a *Sima* - Ordination Hall to receive new candidates in the Buddhist Order of Monks, was built on land given by the king to monks in his new territory. These halls were virtually milestones in the penetration of Buddhism into non-Buddhist lands. For all that the king believed that he was entitled to rule, to decide cases and to exact tax<sup>1</sup>. King *Pa Tum* 1782-1819 wanted more than that. He said :

The king in his desire to get men and monks do things properly in accordance with either the *Pitaka* in religious affairs or the *Veda* in non-religious affairs, had taught them only the good and perfect ways both in monastic and secular lives for several years; unfortunately they were unable to learn anything from him; (now) the king considered it best to allow monks and men to go back to their old ways that their teachers had taught them (ROB 7 Aug 1817).

For more than twenty years he attempted to do a sort of religious reformation and to introduce a new calendar but he failed and he did own his defeat as no other monarch would have done either before him or after him. Early in his reign he invaded Thailand; he left his capital city *Amarapura* on 11 November 1785 to lead the invasion but he deserted his army and was back in the city on 6 February 1786. Nothing was said about his shameful defeat. Towards the end of his reign he ordered to prepare an invasion of Chittagong with 10,500 men (ROB 16 Sep 1817). Nothing happened and we do not know why he abandoned this idea of attacking the English in Bengal. He was supposed to be humane and wise but there were cases where he was found to be just the opposite. He was accused of being somewhat deranged mentally<sup>2</sup>.

On the lighter side of the story, this king was unable to see men or women with hair cut short. He had had every women, lady or servant, with short hair arrested



and sent to be drowned in the river. Perhaps he wanted to preserve the old *Mranma* fashion that both men and woman wore his or her hair long. Only in the nick of time that they were pardoned (ROB 27 Apr 1806). Five years later he had all men with short hair except those who were sick and who had recently left monkhood (when a shaven head was compulsory) were arrested and punished (ROB 26 Jan 1811). After having said all these we could not help making the conclusion that we cannot trust a king to do only the right thing. For the sake of record he might choose the right word to say. He liked to appear as the most virtuous king on earth. Unfortunately in his haste or anger he would say or do just the contrary of what he had said a few moments ago and no one had the audacity to correct him in spite of his orders allowing his ministers to remonstrate him when he himself contradicted his own orders on benevolence and clemency (ROB 5 Apr 1568, ROB 28 Jan 1795, ROB 18 Mar 1796, ROB 18 Apr 1811).

There were ten kings who were removed from the throne in the period under survey. Three were assassinated, two were drowned and five died in captivity. King *Nachudayaka* 1581-1599 was dethroned on 9 December 1599 and assassinated on 4 October 1600<sup>3</sup>. King Mahadhammaraja *Anokphaklwan* 1600-1606 was assassinated on 29 May 1628<sup>4</sup>. King Sirinandasuradhammaraja *Pan: Ta Lai* 1648-1661 was dethroned and drowned<sup>5</sup>. King Mahadhammarajadhipati *Hamsawati Rok* 1733-1752 was taken prisoner and drowned on (3) November 1755<sup>6</sup>. Usurper *Phonkaca Mon Mon* was assassinated on 10 February 1782. King *Can, Ku*: tried to escape into China (ROB 12 Feb 1782) but was captured and drowned on 14 February 1782. *Rakhuin* King Mahasamata was taken prisoner on 20 January 1785. Ex-King *Cakuin*: 1819-1837 died on 15 October 1846. Ex-King *Pugam* 1846-1853 died on 14 March 1880 and Ex-King *Sipo* was sent to Ratanagiri (India) and died there on 15 December 1916.

Prince *Non Ram* (King Sihasuramahadhammaraja 1600-1606) passed an order to reconstruct *Awa* as the king's residential town (ROB 9 Apr 1597). It was given a new name *Rhwe Wa*. Gates of the city were named after the vassals of the king on 24 May 1635 (Cambu 1960, p.100, 23 Feb 1638). The gates remained closed from 6.00 p.m. to 9.00 am and no one including the Crown Prince could use them during these hours without a written permit from *Mrui, Wan* Town Officer. At *Mu Chui: Bhui* a capital city was built by the founder of the *Kun: Bhon* dynasty. He was only a local chief before and he wanted to know what a capital city looked like and what he was supposed to do as its king. He was advised to build his city after the universe and he believed that the city was a miniature universe (ROB 3 Nov 1755). After the city was built the new king felt that he should prepare an adequate system of fire fighting (ROB 13 Jan 1758). When the king was away on military campaigns, he left his elder son to take charge of the city. He said that his son should do only five things during his absence, viz. to keep the city save from fire, to suppress thieves, to give the city an adequate water supply, to feed the monks and to send offerings to the shrine of guardian spirits. King *Mre Tu*: 1763-1776 reestablished *Awa* as the capital city on 23 July 1765<sup>7</sup>. After his son was king for six years a prince seized the throne while the king was on a pilgrimage. Prince *Pa Tum* killed the usurper, captured the ex-King and made himself king. Then he restored peace in the city by having more than fifty armed men as guards in each ward of the city (ROB 11 FEB 1782). Most of the guards were gunners from *Pa Tum* (ROB 11 Feb 1782). To promote trade at the

city he passed an order to check and standardize all weights and measures (ROB 20 Feb 1782, ROB 16 Oct 1783). That would also restore the city to its normal life again. But as dozens of men were killed within the palace itself recently, the king wanted to live in a new palace and he chose *Thi: Pon: Ka* as the site of the new palace on 10 October 1782. The new city built around the new palace was called *Amarapura* and the king occupied his new palace on 12 May 1783. Two *Mrui, Wan* Town Officers, were appointed in the city (ROB 11 Aug 1783). To make the city roads safe for pedestrians he had had the reckless horseriders punished (ROB 29 Dec 1782, ROB 16 Oct 1783, ROB 14 Mar 1784) and horses or carriages with bells were not allowed on the city roads at night (ROB 23 Jul 1787). Like other kings before him he took precautions against fire (ROB 6 Feb 1783, ROB 28 Jan 1785). Nevertheless the capital city and the palace were destroyed in a great fire of 13 March 1810. The city was rebuilt. The residential area around the palace was divided into blocks and given to important people like princes, princesses and ministers. All prostitutes were moved to a suburb called *Ca Kyan Wa* (ROB 27 Jul 1783). Cemeteries were located on the north outside the city wall (ROB 27 Jul 1783). The palace was surrounded by gardens where various plants (including medicinal herbs) were grown (ROB 23 Jul 1787, ROB 19 Aug 1787, ROB 3 Sep 1787, ROB 9 Sep 1787). The lepers were put under the charge of *Arwat Wan* - Officer of Lepers, and had them segregated (ROB 11 Aug 1787). For the sake of decency, the people had to go fully dressed in the city streets though they could not use velvet slippers which were reserved for use in palace only. Young men were forbidden to sing songs of bad omen. On humanitarian grounds cartmen were not allowed to use young oxen to draw carts.

To save the children from accidents, they were forbidden to play with firecrackers. They should not use dirty or coloured water in the water festival (ROB 3 Apr 1788).

After the great fire (ROB 13 Mar 1810) the capital city was built again (ROB 20 Apr 1810). Special consignment of workers including 575 Cassays were sent to big forests to get the best of timber for palace construction (ROB 24 Apr 1810, ROB 28 Apr 1810). The king wanted to use timber with 5 *ton* (7.5 ft) girth and 40 *ton* (60ft) length for palace buildings (ROB 20 May 1810). A group of 700 men were sent to the *Nwe Ton To* and *Poau An: To* (ROB 1 May 1810) and later 50 Ayut'ia men (ROB 6 Feb 1811) were added to bring the timber to the city. Men to work with saws to cut timber into planks, etc. were rounded up (ROB 24 Apr 1810) and about 1,000 saws were needed to get the work done in time (ROB 20 May 1810). Each minister or officer who had Cassay slaves had to send one slave out of every ten to work in the city constructions. Copper tiles were made for palace roof (ROB 3 May 1810) and lead tiles were made to cover passages between one palace apartment and another (ROB 26 Feb 1810). Store houses like *Pu Joau Tuik* Alms Store, *Re Kran Tuik* Clear Water Reservoir, had clay tiles (ROB 27 Jul 1807). Pavalions on barges had wood tiles (ROB 22 Jan 1810). Only one year old bricks were used in palace constructions (ROB 5 May 1810). Once old bricks from ruined pagodas were used in building some part of the city wall. An order was passed to stop using these bricks (ROB 14 Dec 1806). About twenty six kilns were necessary to make bricks for *Mhan Nan:* Glass Palace (ROB 11 Feb 1811). Stones were also in demand for use in various constructions (ROB 30 Oct 1810). Blacksmiths were ordered to make axes, cutlasses, saws, etc. to fell trees (ROB 10 May 1810). *Pan: Tin Phui* -Goldsmithy, *Pan: Bhai Phui* Blacksmithy, and

Nwe Mhut Phui -Mint, were also busy (ROB 30 Mar 1810). Various tools and implements in *Kre: Tuik* - Copper Store, were also issued to the construction workers (ROB 17 Oct 1811). Guns destroyed in fire were made into pikes to use in quarries (ROB 1 Nov 1810). Workers going to the forests to extract timber were given some *Hin: Khui* - Asafoetida, to protect them from malaria (ROB 10 May 1810). Warehouses built were *Chan Man: Rhwe Tuik* - King Elephant's Treasury, *Pu Joau Tuik* - Alms Store, *Re Kran Tuik* - Clear Water Reservoir, *Rhwe Tuik* - Treasury, *Lak Chon Yu Tuik* - ?Tributes Store, and *Akhyup Tuik* - Tailors House. Some built of brick were given top priority in the construction programme (Rob 17 Dec 1810) and many of them were ready for use by December 1810. Next the palace (ROB 17 December 1810) and Lhwattoau (ROB 20 Dec 1810) were built. *Kyok Ci Mhan Nan:* - Glass Palace of Gems, was built on a stone foundation (ROB 12 Feb 1811, ROB 15 Feb 1811) and it seems that it was the first of its kind ever built in *Mranma*.. The total expenditure was only 680 viss of silver.

#### Palace Construction Expenses (ROB 17 Oct 1811)

Cost of Building (minus cost of Carved Wood Decorations)	Ks 35,070
Carved Wood Decorations [only one half of the building cost]	Ks 17,035
Provisions given to carpenters, wood carvers and other workers during the construction period	Ks 17,035
Total	Ks 68,140

According to the custom of paying construction charges, when the wages were equal to the cost of building material the decorations were in the bare minimum. It was not as grostique as a monastery where the cost of decorations was ten times the cost of material<sup>8</sup>. One minister was found guilty of misapprobating the funds in timber extraction and he was dismissed from office after paying ten times the money he embezzled (ROB 19 Oct 1810).

#### Account on Gates, Gate Towers and Pavilions (ROB 20 Oct 1811)

<i>Camut</i> - Gates, north and south	Ks 1,600
<i>Achon</i> - Pavilion, south	Ks 800
<i>Prasad</i> - Tower	
<i>Canu</i> - Covered Passage	Ks 200
Total	Ks 2,600

When the cost of tower (one viss of silver) was compared to the cost of gate or pavilion (eight viss of silver) the tower could not be big or grand. There were also *Dhat Tam Kha:* - Friendly Gates, *Pra Kri: Tam Kha:* - Big Ward Gates, *Pra Nay Tam Kha:* - Small Ward Gates, *Prasad Tam Kha:* - Tower Gates, (ROB 2 Sep 1819, ROB 29 Nov 1819), and *Thon Pra Kri: Na: Thap Prasad* - Tower of Five Tiers Graduated Roof (ROB 2 Sep 1819). The king said that customarily the people had to pay the palace construction expenses. [He was alluding to the custom that the villagers had to build the residence of the officer who received the village in fief.] *Mre Cwan: Wan* - Officer of Land that does not form Part of Any Administrative Unit, was told to make an assessment according to the number of tax paying houses and find out which province shall pay how much to defray the expenses of palace construction (ROB 31 Dec 1811). Plots were divided in the city's residential quarter and each plot was given to a minister or an officer who had had a right to it. *Nemrui: Sihasura* , Minister, supervised the distribution of these plots (ROB 27 Oct 1810). He was also to supervise all the constructions in the city of *Amarapura* (ROB 14 Oct 1811). The next king

(Cakuin: 1819-1837) left *Amarapura* for *Awa* as his residential city but the king after him ( *Sarawati* 1837-1843) came back to *Amarapura*. King *Man: Tum:* 1853-1878 ignored all objections made by learned monks and men (ROB 15 Sep 1853) and built *Mantale:* (ROB 13 Jan 1857). He moved to the new palace (ROB 13 Jun 1857) and he considered his city at the foot of the *Mantale:* hill as the *Jambu Khyak Ma* Centre of the *Jambudipa* (ROB 27 APR 1859) . A map showing the Capital City Limits called *Rhwe Krui: Sat* Gold Chain Reserve, was drawn by the king' order (ROB 21 Mar 1826).

*U Tan* was commissioned by the British government on 12 October 1920 to write the *Mranma Man: Up Khyup Pum Ca Tam: [A Treatise on Mranma Kings' System of Administration]* <sup>9</sup>. He used almost exclusively the Royal Orders of

*Mranma* as source material and he said he would try to produce a work without any national bias. He succeeded well to be simply factual in certain phases of *Mranma* history where the rulers were found to be weak or wanton in their decisions. As regards the source material he found that the *Purapuik* records contain so much information that his concern was to look for what to exclude rather than for what to include. He started the project on 1 January 1921<sup>10</sup> and concluded it on 16 November 1922<sup>11</sup>. At one point he said :

I owe much gratitude to the British rulers because they gave me a chance to use *Purapuik* records (that formed part of the palace archives) salvaged and moved to the *Rankun* Secretariat) as source material and produce a survey of the *Mranma* administration under the *Mranma* kings as true and complete as possible. The task was exactly what I want to do, what I think could do and what I am happy to do<sup>12</sup>.

When compared with the British, he said :

*Mranma* administration was *Krap Khyon* supposedly rigid though there were many loopholes to evade, while the British was *Khyon Kyap* - said to be humane but strict<sup>13</sup>.

What he meant to say was that the *Mranma* rules were harsh but clemency would finally prevail. The British way was quite reasonable but not negotiable. The *Mranma* formerly did not have a legislative council. Most of the laws were customary and some more were added to them from time to time by various kings as well as judges. In this way the customary law would have the continuity in one sense while it might vary with time and place. On some moot points the king had the final say. For instance there are certain things about which a person should not talk or things that he should not do and for an offence of that kind, he would have his tongue or hand cut. But the king would say that it is his first offence and therefore he would be allowed to go free. By the foreign law imported by the British in *Mranma* any crime committed was always punished. In revenue collection various reasons were permissible to reduce payment. For instance a *Dukkhita* Destitute, was exempted from paying any tax and one would be recognised a destitute easily with the recommendation of a village head monk. For draught or flood one whole effected area would not have to pay the land revenue. Under the British tax exemption was seldom given either to an individual or an area. The British government would organize relief measures and free food and clothings would be distributed to the victims of the natural calamities but no general grant of exemption from tax would be given. *U: Tan*

made no secret that he admired the British system but when King *Sipo* 1878-1885 tried to introduce something like the Indian Penal Code used in 'British Burma' he said without mincing words that the country fell into ruin because these changes were made at the time when no one really understood them or was willing to put good use to them<sup>14</sup>.

There are several Royal Orders to instruct ministers and officers on some important points of administration (ROB 6 May 1249, ROB 19 Jun 1368, ROB 24 Sep 1598, ROB 8 Aug 1604, ROB 5 Oct 1681, ROB 27 Apr 1691, ROB 13 Jul 1692, ROB 8 Jun 1728, ROB 3 Mar 1782, ROB 14 Aug 1782, ROB 18 Aug 1783, ROB 29 Aug 1783, ROB 17 Nov 1783, ROB 27 Nov 1783, ROB 7 Dec 1783, ROB 25 Dec 1783, ROB 7 Jan 1784, ROB 3 Jun 1784, ROB 12 Feb 1785, ROB 21 Aug 1785, ROB 4 Nov 1786, ROB 29 Jan 1795, ROB 22 Oct 1858). All these Royal Orders rested upon one principle that the king promised to give security of life and property to all his subjects. In order to realise this greatest aim, he and his officers were unsparingly strict to suppress crime on the one hand and on the other hand he enlisted unreservedly the help of the Buddhist monks to teach the people to live a good Buddhist way of life. This system had worked well for centuries so that no one felt that a change was necessary or possible. The king's orders were therefore largely reduced to day to day instructions on current problems like what to do or what not to do on a certain situation (ROB 29 Jan 1795).

In case of dispute [on inheritance, marriage and divorce and ownership of land and slave as well as charges of assault, rape, etc.] the officer shall have to listen to both parties who would express their points either by themselves or through their pleaders or through interpreters where they did not speak or understand *Mranma*. "Follow the customary law to reach a decision" was the usual instruction. A crime was tried and punishment was decided by a magistrate but only the *Mrui*, *Wan* Town Officer, shall carry out the punishments. Torture was allowed to get admission of guilt (ROB 30 Jul 1817) and there was no punishment without self-admission to a crime. All buying and selling that had to weigh or measure had to use only the standard weights and measures. Use of silver bits as the medium of exchange persisted and therefore only *Rwak Ni* - Red Leaf, silver was allowed. To measure land *Pay* [1.75 acres] was the standard and in case of boundary disputes, reference should be made invariably to a *Cac Tan*: [Report on Interrogations made from time to time by a Central Administrative Officer to a Local Headman on the Current Situation of his Area]. There were, however, false reports and the punishment for submitting a false one was to be exiled (ROB 25 Jan 1815). A judge was expected to make a thorough investigation before he pronounced the judgement (ROB 29 Jan 1795). The earliest date we know when lists of village, area and population in old records like stone inscriptions were made on 12 March 1359<sup>15</sup>. As time went on it was necessary to update these lists of *Asan*, *Acu* and *Anan*: often so that no member of one group could go away and work with another group or no influential person [including members of the royal family and ministers] could have the unauthorized use of the services of a man who was not given to him or her (ROB 2 Jun 1679). That would also prevent some men from bribing authorities to get themselves transferred to better positions. Pagoda slaves might try to escape from religious service by migration into other provinces. They would be traced and sent back. Intergroup marriages would be discouraged because the simple rule of *Mi Luik Pha Pa* - Girls stay with Mother while Boys

go with Father, to divide the children of these unions was not always applicable. But it is important to note that this rule is respected when the father and mother were of the same social status. When one parent either father or mother was a religious slave, all children remain religious slaves. There was another simple rule. A son of a slave mother shall never become a monk. Lineage was traced through mother and a slave born of a slave mother remained a slave. It is not correct from the religious point of view because anyone could become a mendicant if he really wanted to free himself from the miseries of life.

A group of armed men usually received *Ne Mre* - Land on which they could build their homes, *Lup Mre* - Land to cultivate, and *Ca: Mre* - Land from which they could share part of its annual produce, in proportion to the number of men in the group. As time went on there might be a decrease in their population and by making a periodical check, land in excess of population would be taken back and given to new tenants so that no cultivable land would remain idle. *Lup Mre* - Land to cultivate, paid the land revenue as any other land (ROB 24 Jan 1811). In the *Rham:* state a *Coabhwā:* appointed all his subordinates and they were directly responsible to him (ROB 28 Jan 1795); but there were cases when part of his land was given to prisoners of war and these people would give the land revenue to him though they would take orders from the central government if they happened to be of the fighting units. When the land was glebe they sent the revenue to the *Ka Son: Mron Tuik* - Treasury of *Lhwattoau*, where religious funds were also kept. *Akok Aca:* Dues taken from land or water products, were fixed at one tenth of the product. It seems that a certain portion of the due became *A Phui, Toau* - the king's share. Monks would have their own collection of paddy, etc. and they did not pay toll dues when they move the paddy from one place to another. The dues were collected at *Kan:* - Toll Gate, *Ku: Tui,* Ferry, *Chip* - Port, *Jhe:* - Market, *Tan* - Seasonal Fair, *Pwai* Depot, Brokerage, and *Mrui, Tam Ka:* - City Gate. There were recognized places for these stations, markets and trade fairs and any new place would not be allowed (ROB 13 Mar 1811). Dues should not exceed the amount customarily paid and punishment to ask more was the mutilation of the hand. An order if there were any authorizing an increase in any due would not be taken as valid any more. Overseas traders were also notified not to pay more than the usual import or export taxes (ROB 5 Aug 1813). In a law suit the winner paid the *Tara:* - Court Fee, and loser the *Dan* - Fine, but none of these shall exceed one tenth of the worth of the case. *Dhammasat* - Customary Law, *Rajasat* - Decision by King, and *Phrat Thum* - Decision by Judge, would be of great help in deciding a case. Unfortunately the original *Manu* [Decisions by the First Law Giver called *Manu*] was lost. Explanations on it varied in very many aspects and sometimes the king tried to give his own interpretation (ROB 28 Jan 1795, ROB 21 Jun 1814, ROB 31 May 1817). But as no two cases would be exactly alike, the judge should let everyone concerned speak, give special consideration to what the most important person in the case had said, take the cue from what they all had said, consult the old records including the works on law and give his own independent decision. When a man in an attempt to escape punishment in connection with a certain crime was found to have taken refuge among monks, all the monks who had accepted him would be punished. Punishment was given in accordance with the nature of the crime but there were two exceptions. For falsification, impersonation and mischievous telling of lies, the punishment was severe

because damages done thereby could not be adequately gauged. Another exception was that a king might connive any offence done against him or his property. For instance he might set free his would be assassin or a thief of crown jewels or a man having an affair with one of his concubines. Misapprobation of public funds however would be invariably punished (ROB 28 May 1817). For adultery, homosexuality, incest and seduction, the prime mover would be punished. Philandering was also considered a crime. Prostitutes were given license and medically checked often. They are given a separate quarter on the outskirts of the city. When a marriage was broken one or both parties would have failed his, her or their duties and punish the guilty one except for divorce by mutual agreement. Gambling was all right when there was no cheating. A debtor should try to pay the debt in instalments first and pay all of it as soon as he could do so. A monastery should be taken as a sanctuary of any prisoner of war who tried to escape. A guilty partner of the divorced couple could not get the custody of the children.

The king was of the opinion that all administrators should learn history and Jatakas and put them to good use in their daily official work. Records of events happy or sorrowful should be kept for future reference (ROB 8 Jul 1806). Although we referred to the whole collection of these records as *Rhwe Tuik Ca Ran*: List of Gold House, or simply Royal Archives, there was no separate place to keep them. The king once said that they should be kept together in *Patibhoga Tuik Hon*: Former Storehouse of Miscellaneous Possessions (ROB 6 Feb 1810). The records from then on had a special place though they were continued to be called *Rhwe Tuik Ca Ran*: . Religious records as to glebes and religious slaves were collected and new records were compiled to show where the religious lands were located and where the community of religious slaves were living. These records undoubtedly helped the Buddha's Religion prosper, the aim of the government was to keep the records straight for the purpose of efficient administration. In addition to these the king wanted his officers and men to live a good life, acquire useful information and keep themselves free from bribery and corruption. Every individual whether a monk or a soldier or a trader or a cultivator had his own way of life and he should take care that he goes his own way without any deviation. If everyone could do that there would be peace and prosperity in the kingdom. To all government officers their top concern was to promote peace and preserve law and order (ROB 25 Feb 1782).

All Royal Orders touching on general administrative work were circulated to the following officers of the kingdom (31 May 1817).

*Khon*: [Ward] Head

*Nwe Khwan Mhu*: Silver Revenue Collector

*Coau Bhwa*: *Rham*: Chief

*Thi*: *Ram Nan*: *Ram* Vassal

*Mran*: *Khon*: Head of Horsemen

*Mran*: *Ci*: Leader of [Fifty] Horsemen

*Mru*, *Ca*: [Lord or Lady] holding a Town in fief

*Rhwe Khwan Mhu*: Gold Revenue Collector

*Su Kri*: Headman [of Town or Land Tract or Village Tract or Village]

*Sam Mhu*: Iron [?Revenue] Collector

*Sac Ce*: *Mhu*: Tree Gun [?Revenue] Collector

*Swe*: *Sok Kri*: Leader of [26 Armed Men known as] Blood Bond Brotherhood

*Akri*: Elder attached to a Prince, and  
*Awe*: *Mrui*, *Wan* : Town Officer in [Frontier or Far Away Territories]  
 Except for the *Khon*: , *Mrui*, *Ca*: , *Akri*: and *Mrui*, *Wan* in the above list the rest were hereditary officers and they remained in office even when there was a change of kings. They held their offices by hereditary right and the king only confirmed their succession. Officers appointed by one king remain in office on the death of the king who appointed them and waited for either dismissal or reappointment by the new king at the time of *U*: *Kan Sa* First Time when the Throne Room was opened by the New King (ROB 25 Feb 1782). When the new king suspected that high offices were held mostly by sycophants in the last king's time he might check the service history of each person from the time of the second last king before him (ROB 25 Feb 1782). At some locality a true descendant of the family of chiefs was ousted through some trick and such things would be corrected only through a law court (ROB 22 Oct 1811). An appointment to an office was made by a *Ca Khywan* Thin Palm Leaf with one end tapering to a point, written by specially assigned senior clerk (ROB 24 Aug 1784). A headman for being unable to carry on with his duties shall transfer his office to another man with a *Lhwai Khyak Ca Khywan* Deed of Transfer (ROB 14 Mar 1811) and with such a transfer his heirs could never regain this office which he now gave up. In appointing ministers of the *Lhwat Toau* , it was usually a *Bhak ruy, khan*, Collateral Appointment, of three to four ministers together so that the 'council of three' or 'four' shall meet and carry out *Tuin*: *Re*: Provincial Affairs, *Pran Re*: Capital City Affairs, *Rajawat Re*: King's Affairs, and *Sasana Re*: Religious Affairs, and they would be held jointly responsible for all decisions made (ROB 4 Nov 1786). The exception to this practice was found when one minister alone would be given one specific work like leading an army as its commander or supervising a big project of construction a new city. When a man in the armed forces was on a campaign the members of his family would be punished for his failures in the front (ROB 4 Jan 1788) and a minister commander was not an exception to this rule. A minister at the time of his appointment was given fifty points to take care of in connection with his office (ROB 29 Apr 1597), and a governor of towns like *Ton Nu* or *Pran* sixteen to eighteen points (ROB 3 Mar 1658, ROB 10 Aug 1816). *Atwan*: *Wan* Minister of Interior, and *Wan Thok* Assistant Minister, were to deal with *Atwan*: *Mhu* Affairs of the Interior, *Pran Mhu* Affairs of the Exterior, *Pran Re*: Affairs of the Provinces, and *Rwa Mhu* Affairs of Villages (ROB 23 Nov 1815). The *Mrui*, *Mhu Mrui*, *Ta* Services a Town received and Services a Town gave, were under the control of *Mrui*, *Su Kri*: Town Headman (ROB 25 Jul 1806) and *Asan Kri*: *Mrui*, *Mhu Chon* Nonhereditary Town Executive Officer (ROB 27 Aug 1807). At the appointment of an officer the *Ci Ran Nak* Area under his charge, was also written in his appointment order (ROB 30 May 1635). A *Cac Tan*: in the *Rhwe Tuik* would have a map attached showing boundary demarcations when there were disputes on the limits of its area against that of a neighbour (ROB 29 Dec 1810). We find one record which mentions that one such map was brought before the king who marked a charcoal line to show the boundary of his decision (ROB 4 Aug 1817). Any officer who changed the boundary line to suit his purpose would lose his hand (ROB 1 Sep 1785). Anyone who would bear witness supporting a false claim would lose his tongue (ROB 1 Sep 1785). Sometimes a map would show the location of a crime drawn for the purpose of demanding the headman



to produce the culprit in whose area of charge that the crime was committed (ROB 4 Aug 1817). Usually a local chief took all responsibility of the land and people in his charge but the armed men who came to cultivate rice when there was no war and *Kyi Wan Cu* men under Officer of Granaries who came to collect gold, silver, iron, tree gum, bee wax, etc. in his area did not take orders from him (ROB 5 Aug 1817, ROB 26 Mar 1853).

Services given by a town included the supply of nine *Man*: *Mhu Man*: *Khan*:  
Commodities for Palace Consumption, viz.

*Kyok* Precious Stone

*Nhak Mri*: Feathers

*Nwe* Silver

*Dha*: - Cutlass

*Pa Yan*: - Amber

*Rhwe* - Gold

*Lham* Lance

*Sam* Iron and

*Sacce*: Tree Gum.

It also had to contribute corvee like making roads, constructing dams, and carrying provisions as an army moved. When a man in the armed forces was out in a campaign, the members of his family were exempted from corvee (ROB 1 Jan 1811).

The king always claimed that he was the supporter of the Buddha's Religion and he considered that an ever increasing prosperity in his domains would help the progress of the Religion. On the other hand he believed that the Buddhist monks could persuade the people to live a good Buddhist way of life leading to peace and prosperity. As a matter of fact he aimed more than that. He asked the monks to do the spying whether there were oppressive rules or cheating in tax collections by the provincial chiefs (ROB 24 Apr 1853, ROB 23 Oct 1858).

A king needed a strong and good friend, perhaps a neighbouring king both in times of peace and war. A peaceful contact was for an exchange of trade and culture but when there was a threat of war an offensive as well as a defensive alliance would be more profitable (ROB 5 Nov 1839). For protection a king or a *Soau Bhwa*: would seek a subordinate alliance with a stronger king. He wanted to be safe on his throne while his enemies would be removed by the might of his stronger ally. During a war vassals of the enemy king or even the enemy king himself would be offered three terms for voluntary submission. The terms were *Can*: *Cim Ma Pyak* - Property safe, *Asak Ma Se* - Life unmolested, and *Ne Ra Ma Nim*, - Position secured (ROB 18 Jan 1756). During a rebellion the king issued a general amnesty order usually for three reasons. First he wanted the wavering elements among the rebels to surrender so that rebel forces would be weakened considerably. Second, he wanted to keep the men on the fence to stay where they were. Third, he wanted the village people who fled (into forest) lost their fear and come back (ROB 11 May 1782, ROB 18 November 1866). Venerable monks were sent to persuade the rebels to surrender. Once a rebel prince confronted the monks by asking whether they really belief that the king's amnesty order was genuine (8 August 1866) and the monks considered it wise to keep silent. The rebel was captured (3 October 1866) and executed (15 May 1867).

The king and people professed Buddhism but they were (like at present) very much under the influence of animistic beliefs. Before doing anything important

like taking a major offensive in battle oracles were consulted (ROB 29 Oct 1550, ROB 4 Aug 1787, ROB 11 Aug 1787). The people did not feel safe to do anything important without asking permission from the local guardian spirits through a spirit medium (ROB 6 Sep 1573). For quick victory in battle men of the armed forces resorted to enlist the help of spirits too. But the king considered himself above these spirits and declared that he would punish them if they failed to help his soldiers (ROB 14 Nov 1573). Sometime before a harvest cultivators killed a pig in the rice field as an offering to the spirit of the fields for ample harvest. The king forbade this practice (ROB 1 Jan 1760) probably because like his advisers the monks he wanted to change the belief in local guardian spirits with the guardian gods of Buddhism like *Sakka* and *Catulokapala*. From about 1600 there were records on villages mentioning the names of the guardian spirit shrines each village had and there were several villages having the shrine of *Sujampati* [Husband of *Sujita*, i.e. *Sakka*] (Cambu 1960, p.31, 3 Sep 1601; p.37, 1 Feb 1602; p.72, 1 Feb 1602; p.38, 2 Feb 1610; p.63, 28 Apr 1637). *Catulokapala* are four guardian gods of the universe, viz. *Terattha* [East], *Virulhaka* [South], *Virupakkha* [West] and *Kuvera* [South]. Belief in Hindu gods like *Brahma*, *Siva*, *Visnu*, etc. had arrived *Mranma* from about the 7th or 8th century AD and some more were introduced when Brahmins came to serve at the *Mranma* court from about the 12th century to the 19th century (ROB 12 Jan 1759, ROB 19 Jan 1759). From *Ywan*: [Chiangmai] was introduced a guardian spirit called *Anantasura*, *Ywan*: *Surai Thim*: Chief of Chiangmai Braves (Cambu 1960, p.31, 6 Jun 1601; p.72, 1 Feb 1602). To the people there was no difference between *Nat* [local] and *Deva* [foreign]; all were believed to have supernatural powers and they had to appease them with offerings to get help from them to avert draught, flood and storm or bring good rain, good harvest, good marriage, good health, good fortune, etc. (ROB 16 Aug 1783, ROB 21 Jul 1783). Magic squares were drawn on city wall and city gate (ROB 7 May 1795) to make the city invulnerable to attacks both by men and spirits (ROB 2 Feb 1784, ROB 10 Mar 1784). Guardian spirits were called upon to make the *Mran*: *Khan*: Horse Tournament, a success (ROB 3 Dec 1787). Effigies of *Mara* and his daughters were made to be used in a ritual of making some medicine (ROB 13 Feb 1806). On the other hand the people believed in predictions. *Tit Namit* Omen, i.e. hearing or seeing or getting something good or bad before doing anything serious, one could expect a good or bad result. *Canan*: Casual Talk overheard, forewarned a person of success or failure of his or her scheme. *Ta Bhon* Popular Song, is useful as a prophecy (ROB 19 Dec 1756, ROB 21 Jan 1777). When the king wanted to move his palace from *Amarapura* to *Mantale*: he quoted all these *Thuik*, *Dhat*, *Tit Namit*, *Canan*, *Ta Bhon* and *Byadit* in his defence (ROB 13 Jan 1857, ROB 27 Apr 1859). When a master magician used his magic to destroy an enemy he was told to nullify his spell and was exiled (ROB 24 Jun 1786, ROB 6 Aug 1817, ROB 29 Sep 1817). Catching and taming elephants also required help from gods *Ganesa*, *Paramesvara* and *U*: *Din Man*: *Co* (ROB 14 Nov 1787, B 8 Feb 1806). Offerings were sent to *Rhwe U Ton* guardian spirit in *Mui*: *Mit* to cure the illness of Prince *Pusim* (ROB 23 Feb 1806). A *Kui Ran* novice, of a Buddhist monastery was used as a spirit medium and both the boy and the presiding monk of the monastery were reprimanded by the king (ROB 3 Sep 1806). The king threatened to punish *Mahagiri*, Guardian Spirit of Mt. *Puppa*: for not guiding the elephant catchers to get an evasive elephant in the *Puppa*: forest (ROB 12 November 1806).

It is obvious that the king took the gods to be his subjects too. He ordered to make the figures in alabaster of those gods he favoured (ROB 8 Dec 1810). At the time when *Amarapura* was built the king had various magical objects buried in the city walls and gates of *Amarapura* and small shrines with the figure of guardian spirits in stone were placed all around the city wall. Then he had the magical objects and shrines destroyed except the shrines of *Na Ton Kri:* , *Na Ton Prum:* , *Na Ton Mran*, and *Na Ton Sa Man* (ROB 17 Sep 1815). Based on local information the king sent men to dig for buried treasures in *Kan Kri:* , *Kya Pan:* , *Kyok Rac* , *Khyon:* *U:* , *Ca Ku* , *Ca Lan:* , *Na Pak* , *Phon Lan:* , *Mum Rwe:* , *Mron* , *Rwa Sac* and *Sa:* *Pok*. The king ordered the local guardian spirits to guide his men to the exact location of the treasures (ROB 15 Jul 1817, ROB 29 Jul 1817). Next he ordered the headmen and guardian spirits of *Krap Pran* , *Pan*, *Ku Ton* and *Mui;* *Kut* to get the best of rubies unearthed for him (ROB 2 Oct 1817). Before an expedition to forty four villages was sent to unearth precious gems, the guardian spirits were given an order to help (ROB 7 Apr 1856, ROB 16 Sep 1856, ROB 22 Nov 1856, ROB 1 Dec 1856, ROB 8 Dec 1856). This idea was extended to ask help to dig lead and silver (ROB 19 Jan 1857, ROB 1 Feb 1857), to exploit best timber from the forests (ROB 3 Apr 1857), to maintain the irrigation system in perfect condition (ROB 12 Apr 1857) and finally to make *Mantale:* the most magnificent city (ROB 24 Jan 1858, ROB 29 Jan 1858).

The highest officer next to the king was *Senapati* popularly called *Wan Kri:*. One wonders when the *Mranma* started to use the name *Wan Kri:* which means 'big burden' because *Wan* alone means burden or duty and in its extended sense it also means a man appointed by the king to do one specific duty. The earliest use of the word to mean an officer was perhaps found in the time of King *Ta Pan Rhwe Thi* 1530-1551 when he appointed *Sa Min Pru* to take charge of all war boats as *Wan Khyup* 16 - Chief Officer, with *Bhon Wan* - Officer of Barges, *Rai Lhe Wan* - Officer of War Boats, under him. Perhaps *Wan Khyup* later became *Wan Kri:* - Minister. All officers were taken as king's representatives as he alone was responsible to give security of life and property to all his subjects and he needed these men to help him in carrying out this great promise. He chose his man and he defined what was his work. Later *Lhwat Toau* - Central Administrative Office, made a list of suitable persons to a vacancy and submitted it to the king and an appointment order was issued to the man selected by the king (ROB 4 Jan 1855). But there were a few exceptions. Hereditary chiefs like *Su Kri:* and *Coau Bhwa:* were chiefs by their own right and naturally they would be allowed to have a few of their own men to help them in the administration. So *Khon:* - Ward Chief, in *Mranma* towns and villages and *Amat Rham:* - Officer, *Mrui, Ca:* - *Rham:* - Town Chief, *Hin* or *Tha Mhum* or *Kro,* *Rham:* - Town or Village Chief, in *Rham:* state were appointed by local heads (ROB 28 Jan 1795). In the provinces *Mrui, Wan* - Town Officer, and *Cac Kai* - Regimental Officer, could appoint *Tuik Care* - Clerk of the Land Tracts (ROB 10 Apr 1635). On the death of a hereditary chief with no heir, his successor was appointed by the recommendation of *Guin:* *Up* - Local monk leader (ROB 23 Apr 1873). A vacancy of hereditary leader in a group was sometimes filled by a person of common choice (ROB 17 Aug 1663) and appointed by the king (ROB 17 Jan 1770). Another hereditary chief who died with no heir, for instance a *Mran:* *Khon:* - Head of Horsemen, an ordinary member of the group was chosen by popular vote and accepted by the king (ROB 6 Jun 1855, ROB

28 Sep 1858, ROB 29 Sep 1858, ROB 1 Oct 1858, ROB 16 Oct 1858, ROB 17 Oct 1858, ROB 7 Mar 1859, ROB 29 Oct 1872, ROB 17 Jan 1873).

List of Officers under the *Mranma* Administration

From various appointment orders we have the following names. Each officer did his own work in his own capacity and as there were no big departments to which he would be attached, it is not easy except in few cases to put him categorically or in order of importance. We deem it wise to put the names in an alphabetical order. Date of appointment is given in parenthesis and an asterisk shows where his duties are enumerated.

*Ka Ran Mhu:*

*Ku La: Wan* (17 Nov 1816\*, 3 Sep 1819, 21 Jan 1847, 28 Feb 1859)

*Kui Chwai* [?Personal Assistant] (11 Feb 1859)

*Kan: Tuin* (6 Sep 1807, 10 Jul 1810)

*Kan: Care:* (21 Nov 1787)

*Kan: Wan* (15 Jan 1872)

*Kan: Up* (18 Dec 1811, 20 Dec 1811)

*Kon Han Wan* (4 Feb 1810)

*Kya: Up* (5 Jan 1810)

*Kye: Thin: Rwa Up* (5 Jun 1812, 23 Jul 1813, 28 Sep 1858, 3 Oct 1858)

*Kye: Rwa Up* (28 Sep 1858)

*Kyi Wan* (5 Nov 1811, 21 Aug 1813\*, 4 May 1837, 17 May 1839)

*Kyi Wan Care:* (10 Apr 1635)

*Kyok Up* (9 Jun 1869)

*Khan Ma Man: Wan* (21 Jun 1814\*, 15 Nov 1839, 6 Apr 1853, 14 Jan 1871, 26 Oct 1872)

*Guin: Khyup* (12 Oct 1787)

*Guin: Thok* (12 Oct 1787)

*Guin: Up* (12 Apr 1759, 25 Mar 1856, 15 May 1867, 19 Jan 1868, 12 Mar 1869, 20 Apr 1871, 20 Apr 1871, 19 Jan 1872, 14 Mar 1872, 23 Apr 1873)

*Nwe Khwan Mhu:*

*Nhak Suik Toau Up* (25 Apr 1822)

*Ca ka: Pran* (20 Oct 1787)

*Ca Kri: [Rham: Group Leader]* (30 May 1801, 16 Sep 1805, 17 Jun 1795, 10 May 1806, 17 Jan 1812, 21 Aug 1813, 12 Sep 1819)

*Cakhyi* (7 Mar 1859)

*Camron Mhu:*

*Ca Toau Phat* (11 Nov 1817)

*Ca Re: Kri:* (18 Nov 1807, 29 Nov 1807, 5 Dec 1807, 31 Oct 1811)

*Ca Ran: Cac* (11 Nov 1817)

*Ca: Toau Kai* (13 Jan 1811, 6 Feb 1811, 1 Nov 1811)

*Cu Thin: Cu Up* (6 Apr 1853)

*Cui, Su Kri:* (17 Nov 1807)

*Coau Bhwa:* (13 Mar 1807 Hsawngsup, 27 Sep 1808 *Ban: Moau*, 5 May 1831 Hsenwi, 28 Jun 1850 Mong Leng)

*Can Up* (1 Mar 1819)

*Cac Kai* (12 Oct 1783, 9 Sep 1784, 18 Aug 1785, 1 Oct 1785, 30 Nov 1785, 26 Nov 1787, 23 Oct 1807, 30 Oct 1807, 2 Nov 1808, 25 Apr 1810, 26 Dec 1810, 17 Jan 1811, 15 Feb 1811, 30 Jul 1817, 1 Sep 1819, 15 Sep 1819, 23 Dec 1878)

*Cac Su Kri:* (4 Jan 1812)

*Chan Toau San* (29 Aug 1819)  
*Chan Mhu:* (1 Oct 1810)  
*Chan Wan* (14 May 1784, 26 Oct 1785, 15 May 1810, 21 Aug 1813\*, 4 May 1834, 5 Aug 1853)  
*Chan: Rai Sa: Kywan Toau Mrui: Cu Up* (18 Nov 1866)  
*Chan Kri:* (6 Dec 1810)  
*Chan Ca Re:* (2 Sep 1819)  
*Chan Con,* (6 Feb 1810)  
*Chan Wan* (31 May 1810, 29 Dec 1811)  
*Chaddan Chan Man: Wan* (22 Jul 1767, 7 Nov 1808, 21 Jun 1814\*, 4 May 1837, 5 Aug 1853)  
*Chi Mi: Thwan: Mhu:*  
*Chuin: Up* (13 Nov 1807)  
*Tara: Su Kri:* (13 Jan 1811, 21 Jun 1814\*, 4 May 1837, 9 Dec 1840, 28 Dec 1867)  
*Taricchan Up* (7 Feb 1847)  
*Tan: Tim Ram Mhu:* (3 Mar 1806, 13 Nov 1817)  
*Tam Chip Wan* (16 Jul 1806)  
*Tap Kon Han Wan* (4 Feb 1810)  
*Tap Khyup* (26 Oct 1808)  
*Tap Mhu:* (30 Nov 1785, 28 Jul 1787, 24 Apr 1807, 30 Sep 1808, 26 Oct 1808, 30 Oct 1808)  
*Tap Up* (28 Oct 1808)  
*Tuik Ca Re:* (17 Dec 1787)  
*Tuik Con,* (24 Oct 1801, 17 Nov 1816)  
*Tuik Cui:* (25 Jul 1787, 16 May 1795, 10 Dec 1807 *Lak Nak* , 23 Jun 1810 *Pitaka* )  
*Tuik Wan* (31 May 1810 *Kyoau Can* , 29 Dec 1811 *Kyoau Can* , 15 May 1784 *Ton Bhak* , 2 Oct 1785 *Ton Bhak* , 28 Nov 1784 *Nok Bhak* , 9 Nov 1817 *Ba Kyi* )  
*Tuik Su Kri:* (22 Feb 1810 *Chan Kran* )  
*Thum: Mhu:* (12 Sep 1819)  
*Thon Kai* (4 Mar 1810, 12 Jun 1858)  
*Thon Mhu:* (18 Jul 1785 *Cac Lhyan* , 17 Dec 1787)  
*De: Wan* (31 Jul 1806, 13 Dec 1810)  
*Duin: Wan* (19 Oct 1807)  
*Dhanakpala Wan*  
*Dha: Chwai Ka Acu Khon:* (20 Feb 1810)  
*Na Ri Mhu:* (13 Jan 1857)  
*Na: Kham* (12 Oct 1783, 9 Sep 1784, 18 Aug 1785, 26 Nov 1787, 30 Oct 1807, 2 Nov 1808, 15 Feb 1811)  
*Nan: Kam Kywe: Wan* (11 Jul 1807, 17 Nov 1816)  
*Pitaka Toau Up* (26 Oct 1872)  
*Pai, Nan:* (11 Oct 1808)  
*Pay Up* (31 Jan 1872, 16 Jan 1873)  
*Panna Rhi [Pandit]* (13 Jan 1857)  
*Punna: Wan* (17 Oct 1866)  
*Punna: Up* (3 May 1847, 11 May 1847, 8 Oct 1847, 9 May 1855, 15 Mar 1866, 17 Oct 1866, 9 Sep 1867)  
*Pan: Tan: Wan* (15 Jan 1872)  
*Pan: Bhai Wan*  
*Pro, Kri: Mhu:*

*Pran Wan* [?Agent of a Princess in her fief town] (25 Jan 1815)  
*Pran Cui:*  
*Pwai Toau Up* (24 Feb 1847, 26 Dec 1870, 25 Nov 1871)  
*Barangyi Up* (31 Jan 1872)  
*Buil Tap Ca Re:* (2 Nov 1808)  
*Banda Cui:* (11 Jan 1812)  
*Banda Wan* [Treasury Offier of a *Rham*: Chief] (22 Mar 1806, 5 May 1806, 15 Aug 1806, 30 Sep 1806)  
*Bhura: Kri: Up* (18 Jan 1812)  
*Bhon Wan* (17 Nov 1816\*, 4 May 1837)  
*Maha dan Wan* (25 Jan 1812)  
*Mibhura: Wan* (15 Feb 1810 *Mrok Nan:* , 22 Dec 1810 *Sum: pa:* , 1 Jun 1810 *Sum: Pa:* )  
*Mi: Wan* (15 Sep 1784)  
*Man: Tuin Pan Amat* (23 Jun 1810, 30 Oct 1811)  
*Man: Sami: Wan* (8 Sep 1807, 15 Nov 1810)  
*Man: Sa: Wan* (6 Jul 1807, 14 Nov 1807, 12 Apr 1810, 15 May 1810, 26 Nov 1810)  
*Mre Cwan: Ca Re:* (2 Jan 1812)  
*Mre Cwan: Wan* (19 Oct 1807, 31 Oct 1811)  
*Mre Tuin* (4 Mar 1810, 11 Mar 1810 also *Mran: Ci:* , 7 Apr 1810, 21 Apr 1810, 12 May 1810, 23 May 1810)  
*Mre Tuin Su Kri:* (10 Apr 1810, 20 Apr 1810, 6 May 1810, 26 May 1810, 9 Nov 1810, 22 Jan 1811 *Mre Tuin Mrui, Su Kri:* , 14 Mar 1811, 30 Oct 1817, 9 Jul 1819, 30 Aug 1819, 2 Sep 1819, 5 Sep 1819, 2 Feb 1851)  
*Mre Tuin Amat* (4 Sep 1817)  
*Mre: Toau Sum: Pa: Wan* (31 May 1810)  
*Mrui, Kuin* (13 Nov 1807, 3 Jan 1812)  
*Mrui, Kwap*  
*Mrui, Khyup*  
*Mrui, Ca Khyi* (11 Mar 1810)  
*Mrui, Ca Re:* (12 Oct 1783, 24 Jul 1787, 26 Nov 1787, 21 Oct 1808, 26 Oct 1808, 19 Jan 1811, 15 Feb 1811, 14 Jan 1812, 1 Sep 1819, 15 Sep 1819)  
*Mrui, Con,* (6 Dec 1785)  
*Mrui, Thin:* (7 Jan 1812)  
*Mrui, Lap Ca Re:* (10 Apr 1635)  
*Mrui, Wan* (11 Jan 1783, 18 Aug 1785, 16 Dec 1785, 14 Aug 1787, 2 Sep 1787, 23 Sep 1787, 16 Oct 1787, 26 Nov 1787, 11 May 1806, 19 Apr 1807, 23 Apr 1807, 25 Apr 1807, 9 Sep 1807, 12 Sep 1807, 25 Sep 1807, 28 Sep 1807, 4 Oct 1807, 14 Oct 1807, 19 Oct 1807, 23 Oct 1807, 8 Nov 1807, 24 Dec 1807, 5 Oct 1808, 10 Oct 1808, 18 Feb 1810, 26 Feb 1810, 27 Feb 1810, 9 Mar 1810, 10 Mar 1810, 28 Mar 1810, 11 Apr 1810, 28 Apr 1810, 27 May 1810, 10 Oct 1810, 21 Oct 1810, 15 Nov 1810, 22 Nov 1810, 27 Nov 1810\*, 23 Dec 1810, 26 Dec 1810, 1 Jan 1811, 15 Feb 1811, 14 Jan 1812, 15 Jan 1812, 21 Apr 1813, 15 Oct 1817, 29 Aug 1819, 31 Aug 1819, 1 Sep 1819, 25 Sep 1819, 1 Dec 1843, 5 Aug 1853, 12 Oct 1861, 10 Oct 1871, 5 Mar 1872, 23 Dec 1878)  
*Mrui, Su Kri:* (10 Sep 1785, 21 Jul 1786, 14 Aug 1787, 20 Jun 1795, 12 Dec 1807, 9 Feb 1810, 26 Feb 1810, 11 Mar 1810, 17 Apr 1810, 18 Apr 1818, 1 Sep 1819, 11 Sep 1819, 30 Nov 1855)  
*Mrui, Aciran* (25 Dec 1810, 21 Oct 1817, 25 Oct 1817, 29 Oct 1817)

*Mrui, Up* (16 May 1784, 18 Oct 1805, 22 Oct 1806, 13 Nov 1807 *Mrui, Kuin* , 11 Apr 1810, 28 Apr 1810, 28 Oct 1810, 13 Nov 1810, 27 Nov 1810, 12 Dec 1810, 20 Dec 1810, 20 Dec 1810, 16 Jan 1810, 22 Oct 1811, 1 Nov 1811, 3 Jan 1812, 7 Jan 1812, 6 Jul 1813, 4 Sep 1817, 3 Nov 1817 *Mrui, Kuin* , 4 Dec 1846, 15 Aug 1852, 3 Apr 1857, 20 Apr 1858, 10 May 1860, 30 Jun 1867, 12 Dec 1867, 10 Feb 1869, 20 Dec 1870, 30 Nov 1872, 28 Dec 1878)  
*Mran: Khon* (21 Mar 1810, 25 Mar 1810, 7 Apr 1810, 5 Aug 1817, 27 Aug 1817)  
*Mran: Ca Re:* (18 Aug 1785, 17 Jul 1787)  
*Mran: Ci:* (11 Mar 1815 *Mre Tuin Su Kri:* )  
*Mran: Cu Kri: Wan* (27 Nov 1783, 11 Jan 1785, 11 Feb 1812, 4 May 1837, 5 Aug 1853)  
*Mran: Toau Kham* (13 Nov 1818)  
*Mran: Mhu:* (24 Dec 1783)  
*Mran: Wan* (4 May 1837 *Rhwe Pran Tam Khwan* , 12 May 1837 *Rhwe Pran Tam Khwan* , 21 Mar 1875 *Akkapat* )  
*Mrac Can Cac Kai* (26 Jul 1817)  
*Mrac Can Wan*  
*Yan Toau Krap* (10 Feb 1847)  
*Yui: Daya: Wan* (25 Feb 1859, 4 Dec 1872)  
*Ywan: Cu Kon Han Wan* (4 Feb 1810, 26 Feb 1810)  
*Re Kan: Wan* (25 Sep 1807, 20 Nov 1807)  
*Re Nam Wan* (12 Feb 1872)  
*Re Wan* (17 Oct 1783, 1 Oct 1785, 25 Sep 1807, 27 Sep 1808, 26 Feb 1810, 26 Dec 1810)  
*Rhe, Rum: Rhwe Nan: Ca Re:* (10 Apr 1635)  
*Rai Tap Mhu:*  
*Rai Lhe Wan* (17 Nov 1816\*)  
*Rwa Khon: Rwa Con,* (20 Nov 1807)  
*Rwa Lap Wan* (17 Jul 1785)  
*Rwa Su Kri:* (28 Nov 1783, 11 Nov 1786, 27 Feb 1787, 9 Jul 1787, 19 Jul 1787, 11 Aug 1787, 18 Aug 1787, 24 Oct 1787, 29 Oct 1787 by popular vote, 26 Mar 1810, 30 Mar 1810, 23 May 1810, 21 Dec 1810, 25 Oct 1811, 15 Nov 1854, 5 Jun 1858)  
*Rwa Su Kri: Pran Sui:* (24 Nov 1786)  
*Rwa Up* ( 5 Jun 1812, 3 Apr 1857, 5 Jun 1858, 6 Jun 1858, 29 Sep 1858, 8 Feb 1859, 10 Feb 1869, 26 Dec 1870, 31 Jan 1872, 31 Aug 1872, 8 Oct 1872, 31 Dec 1872)  
*Rhwe Khwan Mhu:*  
*Rhwe Tuik Wan* (25 Dec 1783, 11 Jan 1785, 17 Jul 1785, 21 Aug 1813, 15 Nov 1839)  
*Rhwe Tuik Cui:* (24 Oct 1787)  
*Rhwe Tuik Ca Re:* (27 Dec 1810)  
*Rhwe Nan: Rui: Lamuin: Ca Re:* (5 Jun 1858)  
*Rhwe Pran Ca Re:* (22 Dec 1807)  
*Rhwe Pran Cui:* (5 Jan 1824 *Awa* , 2 Feb 1851)  
*Rhwe Pran Wan* (6 Aug 1849)  
*Rhwe Mhu:* (3 Feb 1855, 5 Apr 1855)  
*Rhwe Le: Cu Mhu:* (1 Sep 1787)  
*Rhwe Lham Wan*  
*Lamuin: Wan* (17 Jul 1785, 8 Jun 1784)  
*Lu Up* (15 May 1806, 16 Nov 1807, 13 Oct 1808, 8 Feb 1810)  
*Le: Cu Mhu:*

*Lak Chon Yu Mhu:*  
*Lak Nak Tuik Cui:* (10 Dec 1807)  
*Lak Sama: Up* (17 Jun 1829)  
*Lay Wan* (6 Nov 1871)  
*Lay Up* (17 Oct 1855, 18 Oct 1855, 7 Apr 1856, 22 Nov 1856, 1 Dec 1856, 3 Apr 1857, 24 Jan 1858, 4 Mar 1859)  
*Lhe Tap Wan Khyup* (*Jeyasankhaya* , *Rhwe Bhum Nidan:* , p.140, 21 Feb 1784)  
*Lhe Mhu:* (29 Aug 1819, 30 Aug 1819)  
*Lhe Up* (9 Feb 1810, 19 Nov 1810, 8 Dec 1810, 11 Jan 1812, 11 Sep 1817, 12 Sep 1819, 25 Feb 1857, 28 Sep 1858, 6 Apr 1861, 6 Feb 1864, 27 Nov 1866, 2 Oct 1867, 6 Oct 1867, 24 Sep 1868)  
*Lhwa Krap* (25 Nov 1871)  
*Lhwat Ce Lun Khon:* (22 Nov 1787)  
*Lhwat Lun Cu Swe: Sok Kri:* (25 Mar 1810)  
*Wo Mhu:* (23 Jun 1810 *Lan: Jan:* )  
*Wo Kri: Mhu* (27 Jul 1787)  
*Wan: Konhan Wan* (4 Feb 1810, 26 Feb 1810)  
*Wan: Mhu:* (7 Dec 1783 *Lakwai* , 28 Nov 1784 *Nok* , 4,5 Jan 1807, 21 Aug 1813\* *Rhe* , 23 Nov 1815\* *Lakya* , 23 Nov 1815\* *Nok* , 17 Nov 1816, 6 Oct 1817 *Lakwai* , 5 May 1875 *Lakwai* )  
*Wan Kri:* (28 Jun 1770, *Rhwe Bhum* , p.141, 21 Feb 1784, 24 Jun 1786, 27 Jun 1786, 26 Feb 1810, 28 Mar 1810, 19 Oct 1810, 25 Dec 1811 *Phak Khan* , 23 Nov 1815, 11 Mar 1826 *Phak Khan* , 4 May 1837 *Kun: Bhon Chak* III 107, 25 Jul 1839, 4 Aug 1852 *Phak Khan* , 15 Jan 1872, 23 Nov 1878)  
*Wan Khyup* (*Rhwe Bhum* , p.140, 21 Feb 1784)  
*Wan Ca Re:* (30 Oct 1807)  
*Wan Thok* (5 Sep 1785, 25 Jul 1787, 21 Oct 1808, 25 Oct 1808\*, 9 Mar 1810, 19 Oct 1810, 31 Oct 1811, 25 Dec 1811 *Phak Khan* , 28 Dec 1811, 22 Jul 1824, 4 May 1837, 5 Aug 1853, 7 Mar 1870, 15 Mar 1870, 6 Nov 1871, 15 Jan 1872, 21 Apr 1875. 3 Jul 1880)  
*Su The:* (23 Jan 1847)  
*Su Rai Kri: Mhu:* (1 Dec 1810)  
*Senat Wan*  
*Senat Up* (13 Oct 1808, 11 Sep 1819)  
*San: (Senat) Mhu:* (17 Mar 1811, 13 Nov 1817, 2 Sep 1817)  
*Sac Khon:* (26 May 1810)  
*Sac To Wan* (3 Aug 1795)  
*Sac Up* (14 Sep 1871, 11 Sep 1819)  
*San Wi Bhwa:* (29 May 1850 *Kenghung*, 19 Oct 1878 *Kenghung*)  
*Sam Khyak Wan Thok* (19 Oct 1810, 6 Nov 1810)  
*Sam Toau Chan,* (7 Jul 1807, 6 Feb 1810, 16 Feb 1811, 22 Oct 1811)  
*Swe: Sok Kri:* (14 Nov 1807, 11 Nov 1817, 31 Jan 1872, 4 Feb 1875)  
*Akok Wan* (3 Dec 1787, 3 Nov 1806, 30 Oct 1807, 15 Feb 1811, 4 Jan 1816)  
*Akri:* (1 Dec 1786, 7 Dec 1787, 24 May 1810)  
*Akrap* [Deurion]  
*Akhyup Wan* (4 Oct 1808, 16 Oct 1808)  
*Akhwan Wan* (12 Oct 1783, 9 Sep 1784, 30 Oct 1807, 13 Dec 1810, 15 Feb 1811)  
*Acu Re:* (3 Jan 1812)



*Aci Ran* (21 Oct 1817, 6 Apr 1853)  
*Acon, Ane Wan* (15 Mar 1786)  
*Achon Toau Mrai* (31 Oct 1811)  
*Atwan: Wan* (2 May 1784, 8 Apr 1807, 5 Dec 1807, 27 Dec 1807\*, 25 Jun 1815, 17 Nov 1815, 4 May 1837, 3 Aug 1852, 18 Oct 1859, 14 Jan 1871, 6 Nov 1871, 20 Oct 1872)  
*Anok Wan* (15 Dec 1807, 21 Jun 1814\*, 4 May 1837)  
*Amin, Toau Re:* (16 Feb 1811, 14 Sep 1819)  
*Amha Toau Re:* (10 Apr 1819)  
*Amrok Wan*  
*Amhu: Akri:* [Commissioner] (11 Nov 1878, 14 departments)  
*Amwe Wan* (17 Nov 1810, 3 Jan 1811, 25 Jan 1812)  
*Arwat Wan* (30 Nov 1810, 24 Sep 1817, 11 Aug 1787)  
*Awe: Kyi Wan* (13 Jan 1857)  
*Awe: Rok Ca Re:* (16 Feb 1811)  
*Awan:* [Overseer] (17 Jan 1812)  
*Asum: Ca Re:* (10 Sep 1807, 19 Nov 1807)  
*Asan Ca Re:* (10 Apr 1635)  
*Asan Wan* (17 Nov 1783, 28 Jul 1785, 21 Aug 1813\*, 5 Aug 1853, 22 Jan 1875)  
*Okma: Wan* (9 Jul 1807, 27 Oct 1810)  
*Ut Angate Wan* (28 Dec 1878)  
*Uyan Mhu:* (19 Nov 1816)  
*Uyan Up* (4 Oct 1858)  
*Imrhe, Man:* (6 Apr 1809)  
*Imrhe, Wan* (6 Apr 1809, 6 Mar 1810)  
*Imrhe, Wan: Mhu:* (17 Nov 1816)  
*Imrhe, Atwan: Wan* (30 Oct 1808, 6 Apr 1809)  
*Imrhe, Anok Wan* (17 Nov 1816)

An appointment order was usually followed by three letters of information from the officer concerned (1) to the person who got the appointment, (2) to the people who would be under his control and (3) to the office that had to deal directly with him. For example, the *Asan Wan* Officer of Common Folks, wrote letter one to the new headman to work with diligence, to take orders from the Town Office and to help the people under his charge live in peace and prosperity; letter two to the people to serve the new headman; and letter three to the town officer to use the new headman in his township to get the villagers do everything that the central government wanted them to do (ROB 6 Nov 1838, etc.)

Bribery and corruption was taken as a major crime that deserved punishment by death (ROB 13 Jun 1795). An order to have a water ordeal was once passed to try a bribery case (ROB 12 Aug 1795). Usually the water ordeal was applied only when the accusing party could not produce an evidence like in the case of rape. In another case several people were found guilty of taking bribes and the silver that they took was melted and poured down their throats (ROB 8 Sep 1783). An officer at *Mui: Nai* was found guilty of taking bribes but he could not return the silver he had taken. An order was passed to put his wife and children above fire and ask them for the hidden silver (ROB 11 Jun 1806). The wife and children produced the silver and they were pardoned (ROB 13 Jul 1806). There was however a case where the officer guilty of bribery was told to return the silver he took and was

not punished (ROB 13 Nov 1810). But severity in dealing with cases of bribery disappeared when the criminal code was more or less revised after the Indian Penal Code used in 'British Burma' (ROB 10 Feb 1869).

The king wanted his chief queen and crown prince worked together to help the Buddha's Religion to prosper and with the guidance of the chief queen the crown prince shall decide some administrative problems of lesser importance especially when the king was away from the capital city on a military expedition (ROB 21 Sep 1759, ROB 1 Jan 1760, ROB 6 Mar 1760). He hoped that in this way the crown prince would learn the statecraft through experience (ROB 22 Sep 1759). He advised him to be very careful in his dealings with any vassal lord because the lord would naturally consider himself equally important as the crown prince (ROB 23 Dec 1759). He also told the prince to recruit men and train them and send them along with more provisions to the front. But he changed his mind by saying that as he had had the best men with him in the campaign the prince would not be able to do that with the men that he left behind (ROB 21 Sep 1759). There were also occasions when a crown prince had to lead an army and conquer new territories (ROB 16 Feb 1605, ROB 16 Oct 1784). There was however a very little known duty that the crown prince had to do and it was to take charge of the *Kun Swa: Lhe* Trading boats (ROB 9 Nov 1605), owned by the members of the royal family plying along the river *Erawati*.

The *Lhwat Tak Man: sa:* Princes attending the *Lhwat Toau*, were in fact helping the crown prince in his official work (ROB 6 Feb 1806, Rob 28 Apr 1810, ROB 19 Nov 1817). This council of princes selected a chief for *Karan* (ROB 6 Feb 1808), presided contests and tournaments in martial art (ROB 11 Mar 1806), conferred towns and villages in fief to princes and princesses (ROB 21 May 1806), checked the toll gates so that only the customary dues were exacted (ROB 13 Mar 1811), decided boundary disputes and defined the duties of a fief holder or his or her agent in the province (ROB 22 Jan 1811, ROB 21 Dec 1811) and selected suitable persons for provincial duty (ROB 15 Feb 1811). When a group of either armed men or menial labourers did not have its former strength, the council was asked to investigate why there was a decrease of population in each particular group and to suggest ways and means to restore its former efficiency (ROB 7 Oct 1811). It would also suggest worthy officers for rewards, titles and insignias (ROB 19 Nov 1817). The council members (ROB 14 Mar 1811) were princes of *Ka Non*, *Ton Nu*, *Pa Khan:*, *Pu Gam*, *Pran*, *Mui: Mit*, *Makkhara*, *Man: Tum:*, *Lhuin*, *Sipo* and *Sam Lhyan*.

On *Rakhuin* affairs we have only a few records. Before the *Rakhuin* campaign started King *Pa Tum* 1782-1819 sent letters to some *Rakhuin* chiefs to defect and there was one reply dated 29 April 1782<sup>17</sup> saying that they would. After the campaign was successfully concluded a large number of men were brought over to *Mranma* to be used as labourers to carry the Great Image *Mahamuni* from *Mrok U* to *Amarapura*, to build the *Man: Kwan:* huge pagoda, to repair old pagodas, and to serve either as armed men or as boatmen in the king's service. People defeated in war were usually treated like this but the *Mranma* soon realized that this time there were more problems that would soon prove to be much to their disadvantage. To escape oppression a large number of people escaped into the British territories on the west and the attempts to get them back eventually led to more serious problems. Unfortunately the *Mranma* king

could not perceive any serious outcome from this at that time. More troops were sent there and paddy collected there was largely used for these troops (ROB 18 Feb 1788). Most of the *Rakhuin* brought over were given *Ne Mre* Land to build homes, and *Lup Mre* Land to cultivate. But in one record some *Rakhuin* working in *Rhwe Moau To* (in *Pai Khu:* ) were allowed to return home in *Ram: Brai* (ROB 2 Jan 1788). The *Rakhuin* royal family was given quarters on the south of *Kyon: Toau Kri:* in *Amarapura* (ROB 4 Feb 1789) and they were in no position to instigate or help their people to rebel. Yet the rebellion went on and those who escaped into India waited for a chance to come back again and again to harass the *Mranma* troops there (ROB 14 Mar 1807). Foreigners who came to *Rakhuin* ports supplied arms and ammunitions to malcontents and enlisted their help to smuggle out gold and paddy which were both forbidden by the *Mranma* authorities to be taken out of *Rakhuin*. The *Kula* Foreigners, were dishonest by trying to evade tax (ROB 7 Aug 1806, ROB 11 Aug 1806). Ten Frenchmen were arrested in *Meghawati* [*Man On* ] (ROB 24 Mar 1807) and sent to *Hamsawati* (ROB 1 Nov 1807). *Meghawati* [*Man On* ] seems to be the centre of these anti-*Mranma* activities. Instructions were sent to *Mrui*, *Wan* there to deal directly with the English Company in India to have those *Rhakhuin* who escaped into English territories repatriated (ROB 25 Apr 1807). Public resentment against the *Mranma* was widespread and an order was passed that all *Mranma* in *Rakhuin Le: Mrui*, Four Towns of *Rakhuin*, viz. *Dhannawati*, *Dwarawati*, *Meghawati* and *Rammawati* had to move and live in *Dhannawati* (ROB 8 Sep 1807). There were about 1,016 men altogether (ROB 23 Dec 1807). The *Mranma* unlike those of a generation or two ago became much impressed by the way the sepoys trained by the English fought and they started to change first to dress like them. An order was passed to give paddy and get 50,000 *Sakkalap Kula: Wat Ankyi* European Serge Jackets, at the *Rakhuin* ports (ROB 13 Nov 1807, ROB 18 Nov 1807). Unfortunately they did not take a step further until too late to get European military instructors. On the other hand they tried to explain the English why they had so severe an attitude on the *Rakhuin* who fled into India. They were criminals who should be arrested and sent back (ROB 25 Oct 1811, ROB 18 Dec 1811, ROB 26 Dec 1811, ROB 29 Dec 1811, ROB 1 Jan 1812, ROB 4 Jan 1812, ROB 7 Jan 1812). On the other hand they openly prepared for war. *Man: Lha Cansu* was sent in command of an army to *Rakhuin* late in 1811, with orders to prepare the invasion of Bengal. He spent some time recruiting men along the *Erawati* and the king thought that he took too long to do that (ROB 18 Dec 1811). An order was sent to *Hamsawati* and *Pusim* that officers there shall get a few ships for war (ROB 18 Dec 1811). Then *Man: Lha Cansu* was recalled and *Man: Rai Man: Lha Kyoau Than* was sent in his place (ROB 26 Dec 1811). In the meanwhile John Canning came to negotiate and his mission was recorded as 'John Canning came for clemency' (ROB 26 Dec 1811). As a mark of bestowing a very high honour, *Man: Lha Kyoau Than* was appointed *Cac Su Kri:* - Headman of War [C-in-C] with the permission to use *Rhwe Khya Thi* Gilt Umbrella (ROB 4 Jan 1812). In the meanwhile *Man: Lha Cansu* reported the success of the *Rakhuin* campaign (ROB 7 Jan 1812). What he called a success was that the *Rakhuin* in Bengal were driven back by the English and they were arrested by the *Mranma* as soon as touched this side of the frontier. As we know this problem was never really solved and it appeared again in 1817. Letters were sent to the English Company to

arrest *Na Khye: Lu: , Na Twan: On Kyoau* and followers who fled to Chittagong, *Pan: Wa* [?Ramul] and Decca (ROB 18 Feb 1817). The letter included the information that Chittagong, Deacca and Murshidabed were once under the *Rakhuin* king and by right of having conquered him the *Mranma* king had the right to rule and collect tax in these places. Consequently *Maha Noratha , Mrui, Wan* - Town Officer, *Dhannawati* would soon be collecting tax in the said areas in Bengal (ROB 18 Feb 1817, ROB 16 Sep 1817). To spy on the English position in India and to get contact with the people of anti-English sentiments in India, missions were also sent to India with the pretext of collecting old and rare religious and non religious texts of India. The four *Rakhuin* towns had to bear the expenses of these missions. *Rammawati* [*Ram: Brai* ] paid Ks 86,955 (ROB 29 Jul 1817). War seemed to be inevitable. An order was passed to raise an army of 3,750 men under the command of *Ne Mrui: Siri Rhwe Ton* and march to Murshidabed (ROB 16 Sep 1817). It was also declared that in an event of war the English would be held responsible because they were collecting tax from the land that was part of the *Mranma* territories (ROB 22 Dec 1817). The actual fighting was postponed until 1824.

*Phon Pan: Lhe Tak Khan: Kyan:* Get ready the Barges and Boats<sup>18</sup>, was the regular expression for a royal river journey. The length of the boats varied from 12 *lam* (24 yards) to 32 *lam* (64 yards)<sup>19</sup>. The longest [sixty four yard] one was *Mahapasada* because it had on it a pavilion of graduated roof. The name *Lhoau Ka* is given because it is a boat made to look like a scorpion. Their names were :

<i>Ku Rwap</i>	Pot Rest Ring	
<i>Kinnara Cak</i>	Weapon of Cock with human head	30 yds
<i>Kinnari</i>	Hen with human head	30 yds
<i>Kyok Myak Lhe Toau</i>	Royal Boat of Gems (9 Feb 1811)	
<i>Kywai Rup</i>	Figure of Buffalo	32 yds
<i>Cak Narai</i>	God's Weapon	32 yds
<i>Cac Lhyan</i>	Quick War (Boat)	30 yds
<i>Jiwacuiw Phon</i>	Grey-Rumped Swiftlet Barge (30 Apr 1795)	
<i>Jan: May An: Ma</i>	Chiangmai Main Lake	30 yds
<i>Ton Thip Pan:</i>	Flower on Hill Top (12 Oct 1811)	
<i>Ton Lum: Lhe Toau</i>	All Range Royal (19 Nov 1807, 18 May 1810)	
<i>Ton Lum: Mhuin: Lhe Toau</i>	Royal Grey over the Range (19 Oct 1807, 22 Mar 1810)	
<i>Twe, Tuin: Wan</i>	Enter Everywhere	30 yds
<i>Twe, Tuin: On</i>	Successful Anywhere	30 yds
<i>Thwak Tuin: Ra</i>	Ever Victorious	30 yds
<i>Nat Pan: Lhe Toau</i>	Royal God's Flower (12 Oct 1811)	
<i>Pai Khu: Nuinnam</i>	Lower Kingdom	30 yds
<i>Pyam Lhwa Lhe Toau</i>	Palm Swift Royal Boat (11 Sep 1819)	
<i>Pran Lum: Kyoau</i>	City Wide Fame	34 yds
<i>Pran Lum: Kranan:</i>	All City Palace (30 Apr 1810)	
<i>Pran Lum: Nuin</i>	All City Conqueror (30 Apr 1810, 10 Jul 1810)	
<i>Pram Lum: Ra</i>	Win All City (30 Apr 1810)	34 yds
<i>Pran Lum: Am,</i>	All City Wonder (27 Mar 1810 Ayut'ia men,	
	5 Sep 1819 <i>Anrim, Lhe Toau</i> Royal Boat of Entertainment	34 yds
<i>Pran An: Ma</i>	City Main Lake	30 yds

*Pwai Tuin: Kyoau* Famous in All Contests 30 yds  
*Pwai Tuin: On* Victorious in All Contests  
*Pwai Lum: Tan* Top in All Contests 30 yds  
*Brai Ta Ro* ?Young Man 30 yds  
*Bhun: Toau Nuin Nam* Glorious Kingdom (11 Sep 1819) 30 yds  
*Mai Yak Phon Toau* Dark Wave Barge (27 May 1818)  
*Man: Cam Lhe Toau* King's Residence (15 Sep 1807, 25 Sep 1807, 18 Oct 1807, 9 Feb 1811, 20 Sep 1817, 19 Oct 1817, 14 Oct 1819)  
*Man: Tara: Cak Kri:* Big Weapon of Just King 30 yds  
*Man: Lhe* The King (5 Jan 1811)  
*Mun Tuin: Lhe Toau* The Storm (15 Sep 1807)  
*Mrac Twan: Ran Nuin* River Valley Conqueror 30 yds  
*Ran Nuin* Conqueror 30 yds  
*Ran Lan: Lhe Toau* Royal No More Enemy (15 Sep 1807)  
*Ran Lhwan, Lhe Toau* Royal Scatter the Enemy (27 Dec 1811)  
*Rhwe Tam Na* Gold Fisherman 30 yds  
*Rhwe Tum: Lhe Toau* Gold Nugget (12 Sep 1819)  
*Rhwe Pan: Tan Lhe Toau* Worth a Gold Flower (2 Sep 1807, 18 Oct 1807, 3 Nov 1808, 5 Jan 1811, 3 Feb 1811, 9 Feb 1811, 27 Jul 1817, 12 Sep 1819)  
*Lak Rwe: Kri:* Big Selected (2 Jun 1810, 6 Jan 1811, 29 Aug 1819)  
*Rakhuin* Boat 36 yds  
*Lak Sac* The New (5 Sep 1819 *Anrim, Lhe Toau* Royal Entertainment 36 yds  
*Lwan: Kran Lhe Toau* Royal Lover Bird (13 Oct 1858)  
*Wam Phui Lhe Toau* Royal Stork (9 Feb 1811)  
*Sa Lwan Phru* White Sand 24 yds  
*Sum: Lu Pujoau Lhe Toau* Lord of the Three Worlds (6 Jan 1811, 15 Sep 1819, 30 Apr 1810, 10 Jul 1810)  
*Sura Na: Kran* Brave Fish 24 yds  
*Sura Tu Lwat* - Hero Unrivalled 30 yds  
*An: Ma* - Main Lake 30 yds  
 Boats called after their use :  
*Kun Swa: Lhe* Trading Boat (9 Nov 1605)  
*Krui: Lhe* Boat of Cords [*?Krim Khyup Lhe* - Boat of No Rivets but Cane tied Planks] (14 Sep 1819 *Rakhuin* )  
*Ci; Pwa: Toau Pru* - Royal Business (8 Dec 1810, 13 Sep 1819)  
*Dat Lhe* - Dawk [Mail] Boat (ROB 26 Oct 1871)  
*Lhe Lhyan* - Speed Boat [of Messengers] (4 Jan 1760, 22 Dec 1811, 28 Jul 1817, 10 Sep 1817)  
*Anrim, Lhe Toau* Royal Entertainment (5 Sep 1819)  
*Amrok Tan Lhe* Boat with Cannon (11 Sep 1819)  
*Asan Lhe* Common Folks (14 Mar 1811)  
 As many of these names suggest the boats were of war use though some were for the king's river trip, some for messengers and mail and some for trade. *Tak Cwai Tak Kuin* Boatmen (ROB 13 Sep 1819) were kept well organized (ROB 25 Apr 1659) and they too received *Ne Mre* - Land to build homes and *Lup Mre* Land to cultivate (ROB 13 Sep 1819). Some *Pisuka* - Architect, specialized in making boats (ROB 17 Nov 1810) and *Sarapat Acu Sa:* Man to make boats watertight

(ROB 20 Dec 1856), seemed to be always busy to maintain the boats<sup>20</sup>. They also received land to build homes (ROB 20 Dec 1856).

*Man: Mre* King's Land, was often added by escheat or by seizure and knowingly or unknowingly some *Wattaka Mre* - Religious Land, became king's land in some places. The explanation was simple. Land was given to a religious establishment and when that establishment fell into ruin and ceased to exist, the king considered it his

property. Monks quoted scriptures and argued that a religious land remained so for ever. Because a land given to one particular monastery or pagoda simply means that the presiding monk there had to collect the produce of the land and use it to maintain the religious buildings and even though the building and the monks of it were gone the Religion continues to exist and either the king or the Order of Monks in the locality appoint another caretaker to collect the annual produce of the land and use it in the maintenance of other religious establishments in that area<sup>21</sup>. King Sirisudhammarajamahadhipati *Sa Lwan* 1633-1648 ordered to check the records on stone, palm leaf, *Purapuik*, etc. and redefine the boundary of religious lands (ROB 18 Nov 1630) as many of the descriptions on boundary limits had become ambiguous. With new definition of the boundaries the king wanted to rededicate the lands to the Religion.

Boundary of townships were often checked and redefined as a town might lost its former importance or a village grew big into a town or a town might change its location. For example early in the 17th century *Hansata* was on the east side of the *Erawati* and its boundary was given as follows.

*Hansata* area meets *Mi Nan: An: of Sayawati* land on the east, *Ja Rwan* land on the south, the *Erawati* river on the west and the *Jhe: Moau* stream on the north (Cambu 1960, p.19, 2 Feb 1638).

Now *Hansata* stands on the west bank of the *Erawati*. When a religious land was checked a senior monk of the locality was requested to verify it (ROB 20 Oct 1721). In a land dispute between townships the trial by water ordeal was conducted to decide it (ROB 4 Sep 1775 *Mui: Nai vs Rok Chok*, ROB 1 Sep 1785 *Hansata vs Jarwan*). Normally reference to documents in support of a claim was made (ROB 3 Aug 1787 King's Land against Religious Land, ROB 14 Oct 1787 *Mrok U: vs Sam Twai*, ROB 26 Nov 1787 *Ca Lan: vs Mrok U: Sam Twai*). As *Awa* lost its former importance as the capital city its township area had to be reduced and marked again. In general a land dispute would fall under one of the following five categories.

1

Religion vs King or *Mrui, Ca: Rwa Ca: [Fief Holder] or Cu Rhan Nan: Rhan* [Leader of Group / Division]

ROB 20 Oct 1721 *Ana Siha To*

ROB 3 Aug 1787 *Rhan Phru Rhan Lha vs Lhoau Ka: Sum: Thon Mhu:*

ROB 14 Mar 1810 *Chaddan Chan Man: vs Kyok Moau Ca:*

2

One Regiment vs Another Regiment

ROB 8 May 1795 *Su Rai Acu Sa: vs Pwai Tuin: Kyoau Acu Sa:*

3

One Township vs Another Township

ROB 2 Feb 1638 *Hansata vs Sayawati*

ROB 4 Sep 1773 *Mui: Nai* vs *Rok Chok* \*  
 ROB 1 Sep 1785 *Hansata* vs *Jarwan* \*  
 ROB 4 Oct 1757, ROB 26 Nov 1787, ROB 14 Dec 1787 *Mrok U:* vs *Sam Twai*  
 ROB 26 Nov 1787, ROB 14 Oct 1787, ROB 14 Dec 1787 *Ca Lan:* vs *Mrok U:*  
*Sam Twai*  
 ROB 24 Feb 1788 *Awa* vs *Tam Tha:* *U:*  
 ROB 9 Aug 1795 *Gan Go* vs *Man: Rwa*  
 ROB 18 May 1802, ROB 30 May 1817, ROB 13 Apr 1819, ROB 31 May 1820,  
 ROB 24 Apr 1837 *Ba Kyi* 99 *Rwa* vs *Chan Kran Tuik*  
 ROB 6 Dec 1802 *Man Li* vs *Khon: Tum*  
 ROB 19 Feb 1806, ROB 5 Aug 1806, ROB 22 Sep 1806 *Thi: Lan:* vs *Gan Go*  
 ROB 21 Jul 1806 *Ton Nu* vs *Kyok Moau*  
 ROB 22 Sep 1806 *Mui: Mit* vs *Kran Nhap*  
 ROB 29 Mar 1810 *Pu Gam* vs *Pu Khan:*  
 ROB 20 Apr 1810 *Can, Kuin* vs *Sa Can* \*  
 ROB 2 May 1810, ROB 18 Oct 1811, ROB 22 Oct 1811 *Kya Pan:* vs *Ca Lan:*  
 ROB 8 Dec 1810 *Ban: Moau* vs *Mui: Mit* for possession of *Kon: Tum*  
 ROB 29 Dec 1810 *Kon: Tum* was made an independent township  
 \* A Trial by Water Ordeal

4

One Landowner vs Another Landowner

ROB 8 May 1795 *Mi Man: Lok* vs *Na Sa Thwan: On*

5

One *Mrui, Ca:* vs Another *Mrui, Ca:*

ROB 8 Aug 1797 *Sa Kyan Sam Rwa Ca:* vs *Na Mra Kri: Ca:*

An order was passed to copy all town and village records on boundary limits (ROB 6 Feb 1800) and another was passed to make a *Rwa Can Kyay* Complete List of Villages and to punish severely to change the village tract boundary (ROB 4 May 1854).

The *Ta Chay, Nhac Mhu Man: Tuin:* Twelve Kinds of Excise 22 (ROB 8 Aug 1604) were :

<i>Koau</i>	Glue to make stucco
<i>Tama Ce:</i>	Tragacanth (from <i>Tama Melia burmanica</i> )
<i>Tan Lai</i>	Molasses to make stucco
<i>Than: Phu: Can:</i>	Palmyra palm leaf in long thin strips for writing
<i>Pwai Lyak</i>	Dammer bee product to make boats watertight
<i>Marui: Mi: Swe:</i>	Charcoal of <i>mudar Calotropis gigantea</i> for gunpowder
<i>Man Kyan: Mhan,</i>	Ripe tamarind fruit for elephant and horse medicine
<i>Re Nam</i>	Earth oil to make boats watertight
<i>Lai Mhui,</i>	Cotton to make cushions, etc.
<i>Lhyoau</i>	Hump to make cords
<i>U Shyac</i>	Quince <i>Aegle marmelos</i> to make stucco

Um Tum Bark of *Litsaea chinensis* to make stucco  
 Later instead of palm leaf, charcoal and tamarand, *Lwan Chan* seed of pistachio, *Tamrak* broom, and *Phan Kha*: Myrabolan *Terminalia chebula* were demanded respectively. But the change was not popular and the original twelve were collected as before. This kind of tax, according to tradition was introduced early in the 17th century and was meant for *Asan Ala Kappa* Native of a place, descendant of a native married to a stranger, and stranger naturalized after having a native spouse [or being a residence of a place for three successive years]. In times of war the expenses of sending war provisions fall on the common folks. The *Kre: Tuin* Centre for collecting war funds, accepted 300 ticals [of copper] from an *Asan*, 150 ticals from an *Ala*, 75 ticals from a *Kappa*: and 37.5 ticals from *Cu Khira*: Service Group other than a group of armed men<sup>23</sup>.

Provincial officers kept accounts on *Akok Aca*: a certain portion of the produce [of the land] taken as the chief's share, *Apoau Wan* Court Fee given by the plaintiff, and *Tara: Kwam: Bhui*: - Court Fee given by the winner of a case after the decision was passed. The accounts were made in two styles, viz.  
*Ca Ran: Kyay* Accounts in Full, and  
*Ca Ran: Khyup* Accounts in Brief (Cambu 1960, p.94, 13 Feb 1638).

The same name *Kan*: was used for both a Toll Station where dues on salable goods in transit were collected and a Guard Station where at least ten armed under one leader were on defense duty. The officer of dues collected at the tolls was *Kan: Wan* (ROB 16 May 1758) and officer of guards was *Kan: Can Wan*<sup>24</sup> We have mentioned above that the dues were in fact collected at seven places (ROB 25 Feb 1782) viz. *Kan*: [Toll Gate], *Ku: Tui*, [Ferry], *Chip* [Port], *Jhe*: [Market], *Tan* [Seasonal Fair], *Pwai* [Depot, Market], and *Mrui*, *Tam Kha*: [City Gate]. Ordinarily dues were taken from only three quarter of the things that passed through the toll gate and the rate was ten percent. At *Pwai* [Brokerage] tax was levied only on two-third of the commodities for sale. The Chinese paid anything they had to pay to *Talup Wan* [Chinese Officer] and therefore they paid no toll gate due or sale tax (ROB 4 Jan 1758). The king wanted the rate of dues and the number of toll gates remain as before and periodical checks were made so that there were no changes (ROB 31 Dec 1784). It was *Lhwat Toau* that posted men at each toll gate. There were *Kan: Ca*: Lord or Lady who held toll gates in fief and this person received a certain share from the dues collected at each toll gate (ROB 14 Aug 1787, ROB 4 Dec 1787, ROB 7 Dec 1787, ROB 17 Dec 1787 and 27 Dec 1787). The licence to run a *Pwai Rum* [Brokerage Shed] would cost 1.5 viss of gold annually (ROB 3 Feb 1810), an *An*: [Fishery] along the *Erawati* river south of *Campaynaguir* 1.5 viss of silver (ROB 14 Mar 1810), a *Kan: Tuin* [Toll Post] at *Kyok Ta Lum*: 1.5 viss of gold (10 Jul 1810). The firman on sale tax was given to a *Ca: Toau Kai* [Chief of Royal Cooks] for 1 viss of gold annually (16 Apr 1810). One *Wan Tan U*: [First Stage of the Pack Animal Caravan on the Return Trip to the Sham State, was located at *Chan Khon*: *Kan*: [near modern Maymyo] and dues were collected there (ROB 2 Sep 1819). There were slave markets and *Kywan Khon*: *Pwai Prat* [Head of Slave Market and Assessor] collected the dues at the slave market (ROB 5 Jun 1857). Without a *Khranse*, *Tam Chip* [Lion Seal] naming a certain person as *Khuin Ca*: [Person entitled to take a Portion of the Dues] no one could take anything from the dues (ROB 6 Jun 1858). *Mre Tuin Ca: Rui*: - Customary Dues received by Headman of Land Tracts, included a share



when a cattle was killed for meat, a stray cattle was sold, and a dispute was settled (ROB 6 Jun 1858). A *Cac Tam*: [Report of Headman] usually have more information on this subject.

From archaeological excavations made at *Ta Kon*: 25 we find that it was not a town as old as it claims and the story that it was the seat of a dynasty that begun long before the lifetime of the Buddha was a pure fabrication. But it seems that the story of *Ta Kon*: *Man*: *Rui*: [Tagaung Dynasty] was already invented or believed when *Awa* was made the capital city for the second time at the beginning of the 17th century (Cambu 1960, p.43, 25 Oct 1605). According to this legend *Takon* comes first and it was followed by *Sriksetra*, *Pu Kam* and *Awa*. The fall of *Ta Kon*: was due to the Chinese invasion, *Sriketra* to an imagined invasion of *Na Ca Ko* and *Pu Kam* to the Mongol invasion. King *Alon:man:tara*: 1752-1760 said that *Awa* fell because its last king had none of the ten kingly virtues, his officers were highly corrupt and *Taluin*: of lower country were treacherous (ROB 2 Jan 1755, ROB 4 Mar 1755). King *Sipo* 1878-1885 wanted to know why agricultural productions fell and population decreased in his kingdom and the answer he received a few months before he was dethroned was that these were largely due to his inefficient and corrupt officers<sup>26</sup>. Taxation was oppressive. Thieves and robbers grew stronger. There were rebellions in the eastern part of the land. Thousands of people fled into the southern part of the land under the English. The ultimate result was that the king was taken prisoner by the English and *Mranma* lost its national independence in 1885.

The basic unit of armed men was an *Ui*: *Ca*: - [Five Men] eating from one rice pot, and *Ui*: *Ca*: *Kri*: Head of Five, was their leader (Cambu 1960, p. 41, 30 Jan 1581, p. 85, 23 Jan 1638, p. 67, 13 Feb 1638, p. 96, 17 May 1689, p. 80, 19 Jan 1715). In fighting an armed man understood that "reward for bravery would be ample and honourable and punishment for cowardice would be quick and severe" (ROB 6 Sep 1570). When they were not fighting they were to cultivate. King *Sirisuramahadhammaraja Non Ram*: 1600-1606 had with him *Taluin*: armed men. They were given *Lup Mre* - Land to cultivate, in *Non Rhwe* [Yawnghwe] (ROB 5 Sep 1600). The men he brought from *Ton Nu* were given *Lup Mre* Land to cultivate, in *Sin*: *Ni* [Hsenwi] (ROB 12 May 1601). At his palace there were guards of *Rhwe Le*: - Gold Bow, *Se Nat* - Gun, *Rhwe Ka* - Gold Shield, *Rhwe Lham* - Gold Lance, together with *Sakkadan* (*Ce Lu*)

Messengers of Sakka's Gift Boat, *Con*, *Lu* - Waiters, *Wan Toau Pui*, *Wan Toau Ce* - Royal Carriers, *San Put Toau Thut Lu* - Carriers of Royal Food for Monks. These men had their dependents [male, female, adults and children including disabled persons and monks]. There were also menial labourers and possibly deserters in the sense that they were not in the group to which they belonged. The king wanted to check and made a list of them with all the information of their dependents too (ROB 23 Jun 1607). There were also palace attendants called *Le*: *Chay Toau* - Royal Forties, and *Na*: *Chay Toau* - Royal Fifties. They were descendants of former kings (ROB 3 Jan 1544, ROB 10 Apr 1630, ROB 19 Apr 1664, ROB 2 Jun 1679) and they served only at the palace (ROB 13 Jul 1795). This tradition was kept up by the later kings and thus successive generations of former kings served the Forties (ROB 8 Feb 1811, ROB 12 Feb 1811, ROB 22 Dec 1811, ROB 27 Dec 1811, ROB 5 Mar 1861) and Fifties (ROB 19 Jan 1811, ROB 8 Feb 1811, ROB 22 Dec 1811, ROB 27 Dec 1811). The *Swe*: *Sok* - Blood Bond Brotherhood, were organized from the time of King *Hamsawati Chanphrurhan*

1554-1581 and their male descendants on reaching puberty were added in the forces of their forefathers (ROB 12 Nov 1630). List of palace guards was updated every twenty five years or so (ROB 30 May 1635). There was a sort of chronicle of these groups and the chronicle was often revised to add new information (ROB 20 Apr 1788). The fighting men were sometimes referred to by their classical name *Khattiya* - Warrior Caste (ROB 8 Jun 1803). Some officers were in the habit of using the armed men as their domestic servants and an order was passed to stop it (ROB 8 Jun 1661). Members of their families were also exempted from corvee (ROB 13 Jan 1758). Apart from guards at the capital city there was a considerable number of guards at the frontier towns (ROB 27 Jun 1795) like *Kyuin: San*, *Tha: Way*, *Mui: Kon:*, *Man On*, *Muttama*, *Mrok U:*, *Mruit*, *Re:*, *Ram: Brai* and *Sam Twai*. Guards at the palace, city or any guard station in the provinces shall do nothing except their own duty (ROB 13 Jan 1758). They usually had their living quarters close to the place which they guarded. City guards lived near the city gates (ROB 3 Jan 1770), palace guards within the palace yard (ROB 17 Apr 1771, ROB 2 Sep 1772). Some *Swe: Sok* Blood Bond Brotherhood, did not have the original strength of men and these groups were allowed to recruit to get the prescribed number (ROB 29 Aug 1819). The *Atwan: Kuiw Ram Toau Khrok Kyon:* - Six Branches of Interior Body Guards (ROB 15 Sep 1820) were:

*Nat Cu Lakwai Se Nat* Gods Group Left Guns  
*Nat Cu Lakya Se Nat* Gods Group Right Guns  
*Rwe: Lakwai Kyon: Se Nat* Selected Left Branch Guns  
*Rwe: Lakya Kyon: Se Nat* Selected Right Branch Guns  
*Lakwai Kyon: Se Nat* Left Branch Guns and  
*Lakya Kyon: Se Nat* Right Branch Guns.

They were for the security of palace interior and it is said that they were organized by King *Alon:man:tara:* 1752-1760 27. Their motto was *Sacca Kati Mrai Cwai Krui: Ca: Tham: Rwak* - Be loyal, sincere and earnest in service (ROB 5 Jan 1824).

Five hundred armed men would form a unit of fighting force. The formation is as follows:

5 men made	1 <i>Ui: Ca:</i> - Share one pot of rice
2 <i>Ui: Ca:</i> made	1 <i>Krap</i> - Decurion*
5 <i>Krap</i> made	1 <i>Swe: Sok Kri:</i> Chief of Blood Bond Brotherhood
2 <i>Swe: Sok Kri:</i> made	1 <i>Ra Tap Mhu:</i> Centurion
5 <i>Ra Tap Mhu:</i> made	1 <i>Buil</i> - Commander

\* In a *Ywan:* [Chiangmai] troop a decurion is called *Ca Kri:* (ROB 7 Mar 1859)28.

On the march three *Ra Tap* [300 men] went before the *Buil* and two *Ra Tap* [200 men] made the rear. Distance between each *Ra Tap* [100 men] usually was three *tuin* [6 miles]. The camp site for the night was selected by two *Ra Tap Mhu:* and reported it to *Buil*. Then guards were posted and reconnoitering groups were sent out. *Buil Tap Re:* Sergeant Clerk, and *Tap Choau* Sergeant Major, had to go around the camp at regular intervals and shouted *Nui: Nui: Kra: Kra: Ip Kra* - Sleep but be aware of noises around. All *Buil* came to *Buil Mhu:* [Commander-in-Chief] to discuss tomorrow's programme before they retired to sleep (ROB 19 Jul 1824). Recruiting officers shall not take the following people for the fighting forces (ROB 26 Mar 1853).

*Chwam: Toau Khyak* Cooks of the Religious Service  
*Nwe Khwan Toau Chak* Silver Workers  
*Nat Wan Che: Sama:* Physician-cum-spirit medium  
*Rhwe Khwan Toau Chak* Gold Worker and  
*U Yan Con,* Gardener.

They were also exempted from contribution towards the *Nok Thok Kre:* - Funds for the Fighting Men (ROB 26 Mar 1853, ROB 12 Jun 1873). An *Asan* Common Man, was normally a cultivator and he would be given all chance to be working in his field during the growing season. He was, however, not always completely free from being drafted into a fighting force. In one record we find 2,100 *Asan Ala* of Hsumsai and Hsipaw area were taken to form many *Ra Tap* [100 men] (7 Mar 1869). In another instance *Sam Khyak Wan* Officer of Iron Smelting, was given permission to get any amount of men he wanted from the *Asan Wan* - Officer of Common Folks (ROB 28 Aug 1787) for work in his foundry. Casting iron became a new skill that the *Mranma* learnt by the end of the 18th century. An iron cannon that weighed 128 viss [460.8 lbs] was finished on 1 January 1802 and was put on record that it was the first of its kind ever made by *Mranma*.

We do know when gun manufacture was started in *Mranma* but we have a royal order to get 500 men for making guns (ROB 5 Jul 1787, ROB 6 Jul 1787). Yet there were not enough guns of local made and importing them continued in the ports of *Rankun* and *Pusim* (ROB 5 Sep 1787, ROB 4 Dec 1787). One reason given for such a good demand was that there were *Khyan:* and *Kachyan* on the north who had to be *tuik lam sim: rum:* - attacked and controlled, or *tuik lam sat nhyac* - attacked and destroyed, and that required quite a good supply of guns and jingals (ROB 21 Jan 1788). Gun and gunpowder manufacture went side by side (ROB 2 Apr 1788). Unauthorized use of guns was also checked and illegal possession of gun was made punishable (ROB 27 May 1801). Demand of imported guns continued to be high and some officers were specially assigned to buy them (ROB 8 Jun 1801). Soon the acquisition of guns developed into a form of special trade where men went down the main river way to barter upper country products with imported textiles and guns at sea ports. Some traders employed as many as one hundred small boats and twenty big ones and they had the licence to go fully armed and pay no toll fees except to supply the king annually a certain number of foreign made guns. The number to supply varied from ten to a hundred (ROB 8 Feb 1806, ROB 20 Feb 1806, ROB 27 Apr 1806, ROB 28 APR 1806, ROB 10 May 1806, ROB 21 May 1806, ROB 24 May 1806, ROB 31 May 1806, ROB 9 Jun 1806, ROB 19 Jun 1806, ROB 20 Jun 1806, ROB 22 Jun 1806, ROB 24 Jun 1806, ROB 28 Jun 1806, ROB 6 Jul 1806, ROB 12 Jul 1806, ROB 14 Jul 1806, ROB 27 Jul 1806, ROB 2 Aug 1806, ROB 5 Aug 1806, ROB 7 Aug 1806, ROB 10 Aug 1806, ROB 15 Aug 1806, ROB 19 Aug 1806, ROB 23 Aug 1806, ROB 10 Sep 1806, ROB 16 Sep 1806, 21 Sep 1806, 23 Sep 1806, 24 Sep 1806, ROB 1 Oct 1806, ROB 6 Oct 1806, ROB 10 Oct 1806, ROB 13 Oct 1806, ROB 14 Oct 1806, ROB 19 Oct 1806, ROB 21 Oct 1806, ROB 22 Oct 1806, 26 Oct 1806, ROB 27 Oct 1806, ROB 4 Nov 1806, ROB 6 NOV 1806, ROB 8 Nov 1806, ROB 9 Oct 1806, ROB 20 Nov 1806, ROB 2 DEC 1806, ROB 5 Jan 1807, ROB 10 Jan 1807, ROB 18 Jan 1807, ROB 21 Jan 1807, ROB 23 Jan 1807, ROB 31 Mar 1807, ROB 20 Apr 1807, ROB 27 Jul 1807, ROB 6 Sep 1807, ROB 15 Sep 1807, ROB 30 Sep 1807, ROB 27 Jan 1810, ROB 9 Feb 1810).

To differentiate the imported guns from the local make, each local after having checked and found to be perfect was branded with a figure of peacock at the cost of five *Pra*: [i/100 of *Kyap* ] (ROB 24 May 1806, ROB 31 May 1806, ROB 2 Nov 1806, ROB 3 Nov 1806). *Panna Kyoau Than* and *Bala Panna Kyoau* were best manufacturers of guns and their guns had the peacock brand (ROB 30 Apr 1806). Bad ones were repaired by them and branded with the peacock figures too (ROB 15 Jul 1806). 'Peacock Gun' was valued on a par with a foreign one and therefore licencees of river boat trade could supply them too to the king in fulfilment of their licence agreement (ROB 21 May 1806). Except for the troopers no one could carry a gun without a licence and no licence would be issued to carry on in the trans-*Samlwan* area (ROB 1 Nov 1806). Like the *Khrok Kyon*: mentioned above other gunners were *Rhwe Pran* Golden Capital City, of fifty men, five leaders and one captain, altogether fifty six in each unit. They were also armed with the new guns now acquired through the boat traders (ROB 9 Feb 1806, ROB 12 Feb 1806, ROB 14 Feb 1806, ROB 24 Feb 1806, ROB 8 Mar 1806, ROB 21 Apr 1806, ROB 23 Apr 1806, ROB 3 May 1806, ROB 11 Jun 1806, ROB 30 May 1807, ROB 6 Jun 1807, ROB 24 Nov 1807, ROB 24 Jun 1808). Although a cannon was once successfully made by the *Mranma* on 1 January 1802, they continued importing foreign made ones. When a cannon was acquired the date (e.g. 28 December 1806) was incised on it (ROB 14 Dec 1806).

Licence was granted to *Ci:pwa: Pru Lhe Ci*: Chief of Business Boat (ROB 22 Mar 1806, ROB 27 Apr 1806, ROB 10 May 1806, ROB 19 Jun 1806, ROB 22 Jun 1806, ROB 24 Jun 1806, ROB 25 Jun 1806, ROB 28 Jun 1806, ROB 12 Jul 1806, ROB 14 Jul 1806, ROB 27 Jul 1806, ROB 2 Aug 1806, ROB 7 Aug 1806, ROB 10 Aug 1806, ROB 19 Aug 1806, ROB 23 Aug 1806, ROB 10 Sep 1806, ROB 16 Sep 1806, ROB 21 Sep 1806, ROB 23 Sep 1806, ROB 24 Sep 1806, ROB 25 Sep 1806, ROB 1 Oct 1806, ROB 2 Oct 1806, ROB 5 Oct 1806, ROB 6 Oct 1806, ROB 10 Oct 1806, ROB 13 Oct 1806, ROB 14 Oct 1806, ROB 15 Oct 1806, ROB 19 Oct 1806, ROB 21 Oct 1806, ROB 22 Oct 1806, ROB 26 Oct 1806, ROB 27 Oct 1806, ROB 1 Nov 1806, ROB 4 Nov 1806, ROB 6 Nov 1806, ROB 8 Nov 1806, ROB 2 Dec 1806). These boat business men traded in

<i>Khai</i>	Lead (ROB 2 Dec 1810)
<i>Khyip</i>	Lac (ROB 15 Nov 1810)
<i>Chi</i>	Oil (ROB 2 Dec 1810)
<i>Che: dan:</i>	Orpiment (ROB 15 Nov 1810)
<i>Pui: Puchui:</i>	Male Silk Skirt
<i>Pan: Phran</i>	Printed Muslin (ROB 2 Dec 1810)
<i>Pyan</i>	Timber (ROB 15 Nov 1810) and
<i>Rha: Che:</i>	Cutch (ROB 15 Nov 1810).

Depending on the volume of his trade each licencee paid annually between 50 ticals to 150 ticals of gold to the king (ROB 2 Dec 1810). One rich man [*Canda Jeya* ] had a flotilla of 196 boats and he paid 1,000 ticals of silver a year. The big merchants like *Suthe: Kri: Ramachwami* and *Mamud Kaji Suthe:* who traded free of toll fees were given *Ne to phak La ta phak Alam Toau* Royal Flag of Sun on one side and Moon on the other side (10 Dec 1811, 14 Jul 1812)<sup>29</sup>. Most of these boats went along the *Erawati* river though there were some *Pin: ko* Flat-bottomed Boats, plying along the *Mrac Nay*, *Camum*, *Cama*, *Thum: Kri:* and *Pan: Lon* (ROB 13 Dec 1810). One merchant had the monopoly on silk (ROB 27 Dec 1810). There were others who dealt only in *Kre: Ni Kre: Phru* Copper and ?Tin (ROB 27 Dec 1810). Traders with pack-animals also hold licence payable

up to 100 guns and 2 viss of gold annually (ROB 30 Sep 1807). Licenced trade was soon extended to such commodities :

*Kram* - Sugar Cane (ROB 8 Jan 1812)

*Krak Swan* - Onion (ROB 8 Jan 1812)

*Khyan:* Ginger (ROB 8 Jan 1812)

*Na Khrok* - Salted Fish (ROB 11 Jan 1812)

*Na Pi* - Salted Fish Paste (ROB 11 Jan 1812)

*Na Rup* - Chilli (ROB 8 Jan 1812)

*Capa:* Paddy (ROB 13 Jan 1812)

*Cha:* Salt (ROB 11 Jan 1811)

*Chu: Pan:* - Safflower for red dye (ROB 8 Jan 1812)

*Cham* - Rice (ROB 13 Jan 1811)

*Tham: Lyak* - Jaggery (ROB 8 Jan 1812)

*Na Nwan:* - Tumeric (ROB 8 Jan 1812)

*Nham:* - Sesame (ROB 13 Jan 1811)

*Pai* - Beans (ROB 13 Jan 1811)

*Pron:* - Maize (ROB 13 Jan 1811)

*Ywan: Khwak* - Lacquerware (ROB 8 Jan 1812)

*Re Nan* - Earth Oil (ROB 8 Jan 1812)

*Lai Wa* - Cotton (ROB 8 Jan 1812)

*U Myui:* - All kinds of yam (ROB 8 Jan 1812)

*Un:* - Coconut (ROB 8 Jan 1812)

Traders on Business Boats carrying these commodities would pay a minimum of 500 ticals of silver a year for the licence (ROB 8 Jan 1812) to 150 tical maximum (ROB 18 Dec 1811). They paid no toll fees (ROB 7 Oct 1811) and once a trader was refunded when he complained that he had had to give a toll fee (ROB 13 Mar 1811). *Lam: Lhok Ca* - Letter that walks [Postal Service] (ROB 26 Dec 1870) was introduced in 1870 and messengers took the mail in relays. *Dat Lhe* - Dawk / Mail Boats (ROB 26 Oct 1871) appeared in 1871.

The palace, capital city, sea port, frontier town, garrison town, guard station, etc. had always some armed men for defence and under certain conditions a royal order would be passed to strengthen the defences (ROB 29 Oct 1550, ROB 22 Jun 1683). More soldiers than it was necessary in a normal condition would be sent to a certain town when it was chosen to be used as a spring board to attack a neighbouring enemy (ROB 29 Oct 1550) or to start an invasion into another country (ROB 18 Jan 1756, ROB 30 Nov 1785, ROB 15 Mar 1786, ROB 8 Aug 1787) or to *Achi: Achui*, intercept an invasion, and drive away the invaders (ROB 2 Aug 1787, ROB 13 Aug 1787, ROB 14 Aug 1787, ROB 23 Nov 1787, ROB 21 Mar 1788, ROB 23 Mar 1788, ROB 24 Mar 1788, ROB 1 Apr 1788, ROB 6 Apr 1788, ROB 30 Apr 1795, ROB 7 May 1795) or to suppress a rebellion in an area (ROB 24 Jul 1795, ROB 14 Jul 1801) or to *Acon, Ane* - watch and stay [as an invasion was likely to happen soon] (ROB 15 Mar 1786). *Mruui, Con, Tap* - Town Guards, would have local recruits at the rate of one man from every fifty houses (ROB 14 Mar 1801). For instance *Pran* had 6,700 houses and 134 men were recruited; *Pu Gam* and *Pan: Ta Lai* had 5,400 houses and 108 men were recruited; and *Pu Khan:* had 2,95(0) houses and 59 men were recruited (ROB 14 May 1801). A guard station was usually built within a stockade and the area was made out of bounds to public (ROB 4 Dec 1810).

One group of fifty horsemen or its leader were both mentioned with *Mran: Ta Ci*: (Cambu 1960, p. 32, 4 Mar 1525, ROB 6 Mar 1810, ROB 11 FEB 1812). A prince who was most trusted by the king became a *Mran: Mhu: Mansa*: Prince Officer of Horses, and he ranked next to a minister (ROB 3 Nov 1755). Horsemen were also used as messengers or they would be sent to reconnoitre the movements of enemies when the army was marching (ROB 8 Mar 1760). *Mran: Cu Kri*: Big Group of Horses, usually means the cavalry comprising *Mranma*, *Rham*: , *Ywan*: [Chiangmai], *Kasan*: [Cassay] and *Akkapat* [Cachar] horsemen (ROB 18 Jul 1787) and a senior officer was given charge of the whole organization with the title of *Mran: Cu Kri: Wan* (ROB 11 Jan 1785). One horsemen group was usually given 100 *pay* [175 acres] of land to cultivate (ROB 30 Mar 1810).

The deserters from fighting forces on a military campaign were executed when caught (ROB 13 Nov 1787) except in one case when they were sent to some royal lands to cultivate (ROB 8 Jul 1801). The group leader must not recruit on his own to fill the vacancies (ROB 17 Feb 1783, ROB 31 Mar 1784). People who helped the absconders shall also be punished (ROB 17 Feb 1783). There were as many as 2,207 deserters in 1806 (ROB 22 Apr 1806). Their family members were arrested at their native villages and if they failed to surrender themselves after a certain lapse of time their family members would be burnt alive (ROB 22 Apr 1806). A list of those deserters who returned to their troops would be made and by this list their family members awaiting punishment were set free (ROB 21 May 1806). Some deserters of *Kula: Pyui* Group of Young Foreigners, were caught in *Mui: Mit* and their guns were sent to the capital (ROB 26 May 1806).

Warlike preparations begun with recruiting at villages and towns and training the recruits in martial art [probably during the march to the front] (ROB 22 Sep 1759, ROB 17 Feb 1783, ROB 19 Jul 1824). Because we have no reference to taining the recruits except the instructions on the use of gun (ROB 6 Dec 1759) and on the things to observe while the men were marching to the front (ROB 19 Jul 1824). Next the officers who led the forces were told to use the correct uniform (ROB 19 Sep 1784). On absconders there were orders on their punishments when they were caught and to punish their family members in their villages if they were not caught after some time (ROB 17 Feb 1783, ROB 13 Nov 1787). Local chiefs were expected to join the marching forces and when they did that their excellent gesture was mentioned as *Amlhu Toau Kon: ra Luik Tham*: Serving where the Lord had had an affair to settle (ROB 8 Sep 1784, ROB 26 Mar 1788, ROB 15 Jul 1806, ROB 10 Aug 1806, ROB 12 May 1810, ROB 27 Dec 1810, ROB 12 Mar 1810) or as *Sukon: Phrac* hoping to become a noble. Some criminals including a few princes who were suspected to have some part in a conspiracy would be sent with the fighting forces as if the military service was a form of punishment and chances of survival were thin (ROB 28 Sep 1784, ROB 9 Sep 1787). Criminals were also sent with the troops in the war with Thailand (ROB 2 Aug 1787, ROB 20 Oct 1787, ROB 24 Jul 1806). When the army was about to march astrologers were consulted as to the time to begin the march and to which direction the men shall take the first step (ROB 4 Aug 1787). When a men got sick during the march he would be left behind with a local chief for some medical care if possible or for a decent burial after death (ROB 2 Nov 1808).

*Ip Lhai, Ip Phan* Take turns to spend the night in palace, was the special duty of *Brai Tuik* Interior Court, officers, viz.

4 *Atwan: Wan* [Minister of Interior]

- 4 *Sam Toau Chan*, [Herald] (Formerly called *Atwan: Wan Thok* or *Sam Toau U Tan Cac* )
- 3 *Brai Tuik Sam Chan*, [Interior Court Herald]
- 36 *Ca Re: Toau* [Royal Clerk]
- 1 *Sam Tuik Cui*: [Chief, ?Lock-up] and
- 1 *Sam Tuik Ca Re*: [Clerk, ?Lock-up].

These officers were divided into left group and right group and each group member had the night duty on every alternate day<sup>30</sup>. Left group list was prepared by *Chi Mi: Thwan: Mhu:* Lamps Chief, and the right group list by *Tan: Tim Ram Mhu:* Curtains Chief. Senior officers had to go their rounds in the palace yard on *Mi: Cac* Fire Checking. Once every night duty man was given a coconut, a bunch of bananas and a length of sugar cane. Anyone who did not receive this gift was absent. He would be exiled and his property animate and inanimate would be seized (ROB 25 Aug 1598).

Elephants were very important in the king's fighting forces and there were many royal orders on capturing them, training them, using them as fighters as well as means of transport and communication or using them in ceremonies, etc. The names given to various elephants explain their purpose or usefulness (ROB 25 Feb 1782).

*Kyan: Chan* Elephant for Funeral Processions

*Ci: Cu Chan Ma* Cow Elephant chosen for riding Short Trips

*Ci: Toau Kri:* (Big and Majestic Bull) Elephant

*Thu: Chan* Best Young Bull Elephant

*Thu: Chan Ma* Best Young Cow Elephant

*Tham: Chan* Carrier Elephant

*Dhanakpala Chan* Elephant used for Training Wild Elephant

*Min Sac Chan* Poor Quality Elephant because it was too young or too old

*Rwe: Chan* Selected Fighter Elephant

*Wan Ran Chan* Elephant reserved for Officers

*Wan: Chan* Elephant of the Palace Guards and

*Ok Ma: Chan* Elephant used to catch Wild Elephants<sup>31</sup>.

There were five organizations with twenty eight groups of *Ok Ma:* Elephant Catchers, viz. *Ca Lan:* 7*San:*

*Pran* 4 *San:*

*Mangala* 4 *San:*

*Rai Pa Thuin:* 4 *San:* and

*Awa* 9 *San:* 32

When an elephant was caught experts would determine how best it could be put to service according to twelve types given above (ROB 12 Sep 1787). Elephant in musth turned rogue and caused much trouble (ROB 3 May 1783) but there were experts to cope with such situations. Elephant men with their elephants were given land close to big forests where the animals could get plenty of their natural food (ROB 9 Jul 1801, ROB 15 Jul 1801). When a white elephant was found there usually was much fuss and frenzy (ROB 6 Jul 1787, ROB 10 Jul 1787, ROB 13 Jul 1787, ROB 22 Jul 1787, ROB 24 Jul 1787, ROB 25 Jul 1787, ROB 12 Aug 1787, ROB 6 Nov 1806, ROB 10 Nov 1806, ROB 11 Dec 1806, ROB 22 Dec 1806). Several slave families had to serve it (ROB 25 Aug 1787) and big titles and honours were 'bestowed' on it (ROB 6 Sep 1787, ROB 16 Sep 1787).

The white elephant was in fact an albino and to get more of such albinos offerings were made at the shrines of *Ganesa* and *U Din Man: Co* (ROB 14 Nov 1787) and notes on capturing these rare elephants were circulated (ROB 21 Feb 1788, ROB 17 Mar 1788). Once a white elephant died soon after it was caught but the king let some mechanical device used to get it standing and putting his feet on it he assumed the title of the *Chan Phru Rhan* Lord of White Elephant (ROB 20 Jun 1795, ROB 21 Jun 1795). Hunters captured the pachyderms but the king or crown prince considered it their prerogative to capture it again in ceremony in the *Chan Kyum*: Elephant Inclosure, at the capital city (ROB 16 Mar 1805, ROB 8 Dec 1810)<sup>33</sup>. One of the grave dangers to the public in the capital city was when a rogue elephant or horse ran amuck (ROB 31 Mar 1665) or when there was a great fire (ROB 19 Sep 1819). Singing dirty ditties with flute on the streets of the city at night was considered another nuisance criminally liable (ROB 3 Oct 1679). For royal processions there were *Rhe, Toau Pre*: drums to lead it or to open or conclude a royal ceremony (ROB 14 Oct 1679, ROB 27 Oct 1679). The *Can Toau Cum* Set of Royal Drums (ROB 3 Nov 1755, ROB 28 Jun 1795), was used for all palace entertainments. Foreigners like *Ka San*: [Cassays], *Ku La*: [Indians] and *Yui:daya*: [Ayut'ia men and women] (ROB 27 Nov 1810) seemed to be more in demand than the natives to sing and dance at court. *Panna San Ati*: Aka Artistes, were always given special favours (ROB 6 Feb 1859). Talented harpists were much esteemed as palace entertainers (ROB 11 Nov 1787) and were not allowed to perform elsewhere (ROB 10 Nov 1787). A special permission was necessary to use *Mhan Ci Rhwe Khya* [gilt and overlay with glass] musical instruments like *Con*: [Harp], *Nhan*: [Trumpet], *Tayo* [Fiddle], *Pattala*: [Xylophone] and *Mikhyon*: [Three string harp made to look like a crocodile] (ROB 11 Nov 1787). *Anrim, Min: Ma* Female Singer and Dancer (ROB 3 Nov 1817) would require special talent to serve in the palace and play acting was done by both native and foreigners (ROB 23 Dec 1878). Contrary to what a court jester could talk freely *Lu Rhwan* Humorist, at the *Mranma* court would not have such liberty (ROB 29 Aug 1819, ROB 11 Apr 1879, see also rules and regulations of theatrical entertainers dated 21 Jan 1777 and 1 Mar 1822).

The chronicles of towns, villages and religious monuments were told from one generation to another and it seems that written versions of them started to appear only from about the first decade of the 17th century by order of the king (ROB 31 Jan 1608). A group of armed men would have its own chronicle plus the list of their family members giving each person's sex, age, day on which he or she was born and his or her relationship with the head of the family. Such a list was updated at least once early in the reign of each king. On the other hand the area limits of village tracts, townships and provinces were recorded and revised periodically together with the genealogical list of the family of chiefs and saved in the palace archives. One record of that category and popularly known as *Cambudipa Up Chon*: [Mranma Kingdom's Township Area Limits on Four or Eight Points of the Compass] was compiled in 1638 (Cambu 1960, pp. 8-21 and 48-49, 2 Feb 1638). Later records which goes under the name of *Cac Tam*: [Report of Interrogation by Central Officer to Local Officer] were collected and also saved in the palace archives. Several stone inscriptions of *Mranma* dating from about the last quarter of the 11th century had lists of pagoda slaves and area limits of the glebe. As mentioned above the earliest date that we find in a record with a list of villages with the number of people living in them was 12 March 1359 (Pl. 52111).



The chronology of kings from 19 April 1673 to 3 Nov 1755 was compiled (ROB 3 Nov 1755, ROB 19 Jan 1757). The chronicle of *Mranma* kings from the earliest times to 1820 was compiled by a royal commission on 3 May 1829<sup>34</sup> and another royal commission added the account from 1820 to 1860 on 2 Sep 1867<sup>35</sup>. Using *Ne, Can Mhat* Palace Dairy of Important Events, *Mon Mon Tan* [author of *Rhwe Nan: Sum: Wohara Abhidan*] completed the chronicle<sup>36</sup> until King *Sipo* was captured by the English on 29 November 1885.

In order to keep the respected traditional way undisturbed the founder of the second *Awa* dynasty passed orders on the following four aspects of administration.

1

For boundaries respected through the ages, his ministers had to look through stone inscriptions of glebe, records of land grants, register of village land, etc. and report the *Acu Acan Nay Nimit* Area limit of places under a chief and where group members lived and cultivated for generations (Cambu 1960, p.71, 1 Feb 1602).

2

For dues as they had been paid through the ages local officers were interrogated on *Acu Acan Tham: Rwak Rui*: How group members for generations had carried the load of taxation on their heads and shoulders (Cambu 1960, p. 91, 5 Feb 1600, p.39, 21 Feb 1638)

*Ci: Ca: Tham: Rwak* How horsemen (for generations) were paid to serve (Cambu 1960, p.71, 1 Feb 1602)

*Chak Sa Rui: Acan* What commodities for palace consumption were supplied for generations (Cambu 1960, p.71, 1 Feb 1601)

*Pui, Chak Mrai Acan* What rare fruits and flowers of choicest quality were sent for generations to the royalty (Cambu 1960, p.36, 1 Feb 1602)

*Coaubhwa: Rui: Acan Achak Panna Pe: Chak Mrai* What kind of tributes and how much of them that the generations of *Rham*: Chiefs sent [e.g. bee wax candle, brocade, gold, gold bouquet, ivory, lead, silver, tree gum, etc.] (Cambu 1960, p.71, 1 Feb 1602)

*Ok Mrac Can Talhyok Mrui, Pon: 528 Rwa Pon: 1,245 Acu Acan Tham: Rui: Rwak Rui: Im Khre U: Re* How many households there were in 528 towns and 1,245 villages along the valley downstream that bear the burden of taxation (Cambu 1960, pp.56-57, 31 Jan 1608)

*To Tuin Ya Tuin Dha: ma Puchin `Turwan: Acwat Akhrok Lup sa mhya Chak Thum: Acan* How the royal customary dues from fresh and dried products of the forest and forest cultivation using cutlass, axe and spade were collected at forest toll and forest cultivation toll (Cambu 1960, p.74, 9 Oct 1611)

*To Cim: Mrak Man: Khut Lup Ti Thwan sa mhya Acwat Akhrok Abhui, Toau Akhwan Toau* How the royal share and revenue in kind fresh or dried from all fields [recently] claimed from green forest and dark grassland were collected (Cambu 1960, p.83, 28 Oct 1724)

*Ara Toau Kwam: Bhui: Man: Ra Bhandu Acu Acan* How much of the royal land products and court fees were set apart customarily as the king's share (Cambu 1960, p.81, 19 Mar 1734)

3

For the genealogical lists of the ruling families in provinces the testimonial of the present chiefs were taken to be checked against old records :

*Phwa: Rui: Kri: Rui:* the succession of *Rham:* chiefs and the succession of headmen (Cambu 1960, p.31, 21 May 1601)

*Ca: Phwa: Rui: Acan* line of lords in a fief (Cambu 1960, p.88, 27 Feb 1603)

*Mre Tuin Rui:* line of land tract headmen (Cambu 1960, p.58, 31 Jan 1608)

It was not likely that there were more than one line of descendants in a family of chiefs. Then the king would choose (presumably the heir of the senior branch) to inherit the office of chief (ROB 8 Jan 1728). Sometimes a line would go extinct and the king allowed the people of the locality to name their favourite (ROB 25 Dec 1783) or made headman a soldier as reward for his bravery in battle (ROB 26 Jul 1756). When a mistake was found as an outsider was made village chief, either through favouritism or fraud, that chief would be dismissed from his office (ROB 18 May 1795). Then the descendant of the old line would be traced to make him the chief (ROB 25 Feb 1782, ROB 21 Jul 1786, ROB 11 Nov 1786, ROB 24 Nov 1786, ROB 27 Feb 1787, ROB 25 Nov 1788, ROB 14 May 1795). For future reference an updated genealogical list of village chiefs was made (ROB 3 Mar 1782) and the king would naturally recognise only one line. There was one interesting case of four rivals all of whom were genuine heirs to a vacancy. *Ca Lan:* was once big and prosperous. The four sectors of the town had each a chief. Then it lost its former importance and only one chief was enough to take charge of all affairs of the whole town. The king appointed all of them as members of a committee of four to take care of the town (ROB 7 Dec 1783). When an outsider was chief of a place for ten successive years and had proved his worth he was confirmed in the office. In all new lines, the third in succession would also get the confirmation in his office without question. But the king told his ministers to consult the *Dhammasat* and *Rajasat* to get a solution in cases where a chief was an outsider and had not completed his tenth year or the chief was of the second generation only in the new line (ROB 25 Dec 1783). To all hereditary offices, only the eldest son can inherit his progenitor's office. When the heir was a minor<sup>37</sup> someone shall have to take over the charge only during the time he waited for his maturity. No handing over of any hereditary office permanently to an outsider was possible except by a royal order (ROB 7 Sep 1789).

4

For correct use of insignias by all ranks of officers and members of the royal family, old records were consulted and changes were made only when they were absolutely necessary. The main reason it seems was

*Tuin: mhu pran mhu rhi lhyan alway ta ku ta cu tarum: tan: kokka nanka ra R*

to muster all service men in emergency of provincial and capital affairs (ROB 1 Mar 1569).

About a century later the regulation on insignias became more strict. One royal order says :

*Man: sami: man: sa: achon arwak aci: anan: kui amhu: amat aci: anan: (ku: san) mran san ma ci: ma nan: ce nhan, man: sa: man: mre: amhu: amat sami: ka toau tui, mha lan: sana: toau mu san, aci: anan: achon arwak kui ca ran: pe ran: mhat sa: R tha: ku: R ma chon ce nhan,*

I have noticed a minister or an officer or his wife and children using some insignias or dress (casual or ceremonial) or vehicle or footwear allowed only to prince or princess. Stop it. Keep the records in tabular form on palm leaf (the description of vehicle, footwear and things of casual and ceremonial

use) given to royal children and grandchildren. Ministers, officers, their daughters and wives have their own insignias, etc. Never allow them to use anything else (ROB 3 Jan 1650).

After a new capital city was built its founder considered it very important to educate his officers to use the ceremonial dresses and official uniforms correctly (ROB 3 Nov 1755). He appointed an officer to check and correct the mistakes (ROB 4 Nov 1755, ROB 29 Dec 1757). An officer would be given his insignias free, i.e. he got them issued free from the palace stores (ROB 6 Mar 1725, ROB 9 May 1795) but some received only the permit to use certain insignias and in this case he had to make them at his own expense (ROB 16 May 1758). Official status was determined by the seat occupied by the person in the *Mre Nan*: Earth Palace (Royal Audience Hall) at the time of Kotow (ROB 20 May 1784, ROB 28 May 1784, ROB 1 Jun 1784, ROB 6 Nov 1784). *Ca Lway* - Shoulder threads, also differed by the status (ROB 3 Jun 1784) and it was used to remind the officer to carry out his duties with righteousness (ROB 4 Nov 1786).

*Cac Tam*: *Cac Khyak* - Interrogate and record the points of interrogation, were made by the central administrative officer after asking a provincial officer on the conditions of the area under his charge (ROB 5 Aug 1857) or by a police officer after asking a criminal about his crime or his associates (ROB 5 Nov 1787) or by a military officer after asking a captured enemy about the enemy position (ROB 3 Mar 1760). In criminal investigation third degree was allowed (ROB 17 Oct 1783, ROB 30 Jul 1807) and there were cases when the men succumbed to torture (ROB 14 May 1810). The chief reason given for the application of third degree to exact confession is that no one would voluntarily admit his guilt and the law does not permit punishment without admission to guilt.

Many lists were made by various royal orders. Unfortunately most of them were lost now. But the names alone of the lists give us some interesting information on the administrative system.

Ayut'ia men, List of All (ROB 8 Feb 1810)

Boatmen, List of (ROB 22 Mar 1810)

Brahmins by Their Castes, List of All (ROB 30 Apr 1810, ROB 12 Oct 1810)

Common Folks and Service Men, An Updated List of (25 *Asan* houses made one *Tuin*, 56 *Cu Sa*: made one *Swe: Sok*, [ 50 *Mran*: made one *Mran*: *Ci*: ] and 100 *Mran*: made one *Mran*: *Cu* ).(ROB 17 Nov 1783, ROB 27 Nov 1783, ROB 1 Dec 1783, ROB 7 Dec 1783, ROB 16 Dec 1783, ROB 25 Dec 1783, ROB 31 Mar 1784, ROB 16 Aug 1784, ROB 28 Aug 1784, ROB 3 Dec 1784, ROB 3 Jan 1785, ROB 19 Apr 1785, ROB 12 Jul 1787). The listd were neglected for over thirty years (ROB 17 Nov 1783, ROB 19 Jun 1806, ROB 15 Aug 1806, ROB 30 Oct 1806) and the king wanted his ministers to work overtime to finish their updating as quickly as possible (ROB 7 Dec 1783).

Common Folks transferred to Gunner Group, List of (ROB 9 Aug 1787, ROB 29 May 1795).

Common Folks transferred to Horse Group, List of (ROB 29 Jan 1726 petition refused, ROB 16 Apr 1743 petition refused except four, ROB 21 Apr 1743 petition granted).

Common Folks transferred to King's Service, List of (ROB 22 Sep 1787, ROB 11 Dec 1787, ROB 18 Dec 1787, ROB 28 Mar 1788).

Common Folks Register (ROB 19 Jun 1806, ROB 15 Aug 1806, ROB 30 Oct 806).  
 Corvee, List of Men exempted from (ROB 28 Apr 1770).  
 Cultivators of Royal Land, List of (ROB 8 Aug 1787).  
 Dues exacted, List of (ROB 19 Apr 1785, ROB 2 Mar 1810).  
 Elephant Men, List of (ROB 20 Feb 1810)  
 Events of the Present Reign, Record of Important (ROB 8 Jul 1806)  
 Fighting Forces, Updated Register of (ROB 27 Apr 1691)  
 Fire. List of Objects at Pagoda destroyed by (ROB 30 Mar 1810).  
 Fisheries, List of (ROB 2 Jun 1679)  
 Forces in the Chiangmai Invasion, List of (ROB 28 Aug 1787)  
 Forces in the Thai invasion marching from *Madama* , *Tha: Way* and *Mrit* , List of (ROB 19 Aug 1787).  
 Glebe, A Full List as given in Stone Inscriptions of *Wat Mui: Wat Mre* (ROB 24 Mar 1783)  
 Group Members, List of Missing (ROB 11 May 1692) *Chut Tak* [Anyone upgraded or degraded] shall return to former station.  
 Gunners, List of (ROB 6 Mar 1810).  
 Guns with Palace Guards, List of (ROB 15 Dec 1810).  
 Headmen of Town or Village, List of (ROB 8 Feb 1810)  
 Hereditary Officers, Genealogical List of (ROB 19 Apr 1785, ROB 2 Mar 1810).  
 Historical Records, Copy of (ROB 20 Feb 1788, ROB 6 Feb 1800)  
 Horsemen, List of (ROB 28 Mar 1810)  
 Insignias used by Officers according to their rank, List of (ROB 19 Apr 1785, ROB 2 Mar 1810)  
 Lancers, List of (ROB 6 Mar 1810)  
 Liaison Officers Manual (ROB 16 May 1758).  
 Library Accessions at the *Tak Nwai An*: Monastery made on 31 Oct 1442, Copy of Stone Inscription on (ROB 4 Oct 1806).  
 Map of *Kon: Tum* to settle a boundary dispute (ROB 5 Apr 1806)  
 Marionette Shows, List of People employed in (ROB 22 Mar 1810).  
 Men and Arms under *Mran: Wan* [Officer of Horses], List of (ROB 27 Jul 1787)  
 Men captured in Kengtung and given as slaves to members of the Royal Family, List of (ROB 28 Apr 1810).  
 Men of Unknown Origin now accepted as *Asan* [Common Folk] , List of (ROB 25 Dec 1783)  
 Men serving various members of the Royal Family, Full List of Original, Additional, Dead and Runaway (ROB 1 Jul 1783).  
 Men who had taken refuge in monasteries, List of (ROB 30 Oct 1810).  
 Men allowed to remain in the King's Service if they had been in it for five successive reigns, List of (ROB 9 Jul 1787).  
 Messengers of *Lhwat Toau* , List of (ROB 25 Mar 1810).  
 Night Stops from *Awa* to *Da Gum* , List of (ROB 3 Jul 1775).  
 Palace Buildings to be constructed, Models of (ROB 27 May 1810).  
 Palace constructed in S 872, AD 1510, Copy of Stone Inscription describing the (List 10501, PPA 1592, pp. 363-372, ROB 27 Aug 1806).

Palace Guards who joined the *Phon Ka*: Rebellion and made pagoda slaves, List of 118 (ROB 29 Aug 1783).  
 Palace Menial Labourers, List of (ROB 6 Feb 1810).  
 Pitaka works destroyed in fire and Estimate of making new copies of them, List of (ROB 14 Nov 1810)  
 Precious Stones , List of Recent Finds of (ROB 17 Dec 1810, ROB 23 Dec 1810, ROB 26 Dec 1810).  
 Provincial Boundaries approved by the King, Description of (ROB 6 Feb 1810).  
 Relatives of Successful Candidates in Religious Examination, List of (ROB 31 May 1810).  
 Religious Property in *Ka Son*: *Mron Tuik* , List of (ROB 19 Feb 1810).  
 Royal Cooks, List of the Families Members of (ROB 20 Jan 1788).  
 Royal Family Members, List of (ROB 20 Jan 1788).  
 Royal Land in *Ratanasingha* , List of (ROB 5 Apr 1806).  
 Servants who cannot be ordained monk, List of the King's (ROB 10 Apr 1679, ROB 8 Jun 1728).  
 Slaves of Prince who is now the King, List of (ROB 26 Mar 1810).  
 Slaves of Religion [ *Kyon*: *Asan Bhura*: *Asan* ] now traced, List of Missing (ROB 25 Sep 1782).  
 Slaves who escaped, List of Cassay (ROB 11 Mar 1810, ROB 14 Mar 1810).  
 Statements made by Local Chiefs on the Condition of the Area under each of them (ROB 17 Nov 1783).  
 Statements made by Local Chiefs on the Condition of the Area under each of them revised (ROB 21 Mar 1810).  
 Timber extracted in the *Mrac Nay* forest, List of (ROB 31 Oct 1810).  
 Town Officer and Regimental Officer Vacancies in the Provinces, List of (ROB 10 Oct 1810).  
 Town Officers, Full List of the Families of All (ROB 27 Nov 1810).  
 War Fund of 3 ticals of copper per household, Account of (ROB 28 Aug 1787).  
 Weapons, List of (ROB 10 Oct 1810).

A contemporary map was taken as a very important evidence to determine any boundary dispute. In fact it was drawn to illustrate the extent of an area defined in a written statement. Sometimes officers came to the area in dispute and using a *Krui*: - Cord of 20 *ta* [120 feet] , the circumference of the whole area was measured. *Krui*: *Lam*: *Ca Tam*: - Record of the Cord Route, would be kept for future reference (ROB 5 Jun 1858)<sup>38</sup>. Sometimes the king himself would draw a line in charcoal to determine the boundary limits of for instance a royal garden [ *Sirinandawan* garden ROB 16 Oct 1811]. *Ca*: *Pum Pay Mre* Area map of a fief (ROB 5 Jun 1858), would also be submitted to the king for approval. *Ban*, *Kyi Tuik* supposed to contain ninety nine villages was never clearly defined (ROB 18 May 1802, ROB 30 Oct 1817, ROB 13 Apr 1819, ROB 31 May 1820, ROB 24 Apr 1837). With the help of various royal orders we could now show on a map roughly where it was located<sup>39</sup>. The hand would be cut to change the boundaries to suit one's own purpose on an area map (ROB 4 May 1854).

*Min*: *Ma Cui*: [Eunuch] probably were in the *Mranma* palace from very times. The earliest reference to eunuch was in 1661. His name was *Min*: *Ma Sui*: *Ussaman* 40. In 1673 another eunuch called *Min*: *Ma Cui*: *Rajaduta* was

mentioned 41. After *Rakhuin* was taken some more of them were brought to the *Mranma* court. They were given some administrative charges and some even in the fighting forces.

Min: Ma Cui: Na Lha (ROB 6 Jul 1801)  
 Min: Ma Cui: Pok Mruin Ca: (ROB 23 May 1803)  
 Min: Ma Cui: Rhwe Ton Mui: (ROB 20 Jul 1806)  
                   Rhwe Ton Su  
                   Rhwe Ton Poau  
 Min: Ma Cui: Man: Nay Kyoau Than (ROB 28 Sep 1806)  
 Min: Ma Cui: Rhwe Ton Manoaau (ROB 24 Oct 1808)  
                   Rhwe Ton Poau  
 Min: Ma Cui: Rhwe Ton Cui: (ROB 26 Oct 1808)  
                   Rhwe Ton Su (ROB 15 Sep 1819, *Dhannavati* )  
                   Rhwe Ton Kyoau  
                   Rhwe Ton Tan  
 Min: Ma Cui: Man: Nay Rhwe Ton (ROB 6 Nov 1808, he and twenty  
   seven of his relatives joined the  
   fighting forces, ROB 22 Jan 1810)  
 Min: Ma Cui: Rhwe Ton Lha (ROB 29 Aug 1819)  
 Min: Ma Cui: Na Bhui: U: 42 (ROB 15 May 1867)  
                   Na Khuin 42

*Ca*: literally means to eat and aa a suffix to a place name like *Sangharaja Sompok Ca*: it means the monk was also a administrative chief holding a village in fief. Therefore *Ca*: would mean a person who holds a place in fief. Here is a list of *Ca*: that one comes across in the royal orders.

List of Persons who were called after the places they held in fief

*Kan*: *Ca*: [Toll Gate] (ROB 6 Sep 1807, ROB 19 Feb 1810, ROB 13 Dec 1810, ROB 15 Sep 1819, ROB 17 Jun 1829)

*Kuin*: *Ca*: [Field having yearly inundation] (ROB 29 Aug 1819)

*Kye*: *Ca*: [Suburban] (ROB 21 Aug 1813, ROB 23 Nov 1813)

*Nwe Mhut Pwai Ca*: [Silver Cup Making] (ROB 2 Dec 1807)

*Chip Ca*: [Jetty] (ROB 9 Feb 1810, ROB 13 Dec 1810)

*Ja Pon*: *Ca*: [*Rham*: Guard Station ] (ROB 4 Mar 1525, ROB 12 May 1601, ROB 1 Feb 1602)

*Ton Ca*: [Mountain Range] (ROB 8 Aug 1807)

*Tap Pon*: *Ca*: [Guard Stations] (ROB 4 Mar 1525, ROB 12 May 1601, ROB 1 Feb 1602, ROB 28 Jan 1795, ROB 10 Oct 1808)

*Tuik Ca*: [Division] (ROB 30 Aug 1819, ROB 17 Jun 1829, ROB 30 Aug 1819, ROB 15 Nov 1854)

*Nay Ca*: [Province] (ROB 8 Dec 1802)

*Pui Ca*: [Granary] (ROB 8 Dec 1802)

*Ma Yan*: *Ca*: [ Cold Season Rice Field] (ROB 29 Aug 1819)

*Mre Ca*: [Plantation] (ROB 15 Jul 1801, ROB 8 Dec 1802)

*Mruin, Ca*: [Town] (ROB 21 Jun 1691, ROB 8 Dec 1802, ROB 2 Sep 1819)

*Rwa Ca*: [Village] (ROB 24 Feb 1788, ROB 28 Aug 1806, ROB 25 Aug 1806)

*Sanbho Kun Pwai Ca*: [Ship Trade] (ROB 11 Aug 1806, ROB 25 Aug 1806)

*Alam Toau Panlay Ca*: [Overseas Trade Royal Flag] (ROB 9 Jan 1811)

*An*: *Ca*: [Fishery] (ROB 16 Jun 1801, ROB 15 Jul 1801, ROB 8 Dec 1802)

Except in the *Rham*: state where a *Mrui*, *Ca*: was a hereditary chief, all other *Ca*: fief holders, in *Mranma* proper hold their right either permanently or kept it in the family like *Mrui*, *Su Kri*: , *Mre Tuin Su Kri*: and *Rwa Su Kri*: . Fief right changed hand often but during the period of holding the fief, the person holding it had a share in the revenue of the place and if he or she had an agent called *Aci Ran* at that place, he was allowed to try some crimes and disputes there.

The use of machines and developing some industries were put under state management. One *Sam Phui* Iron foundry, was at work in 1791 (ROB 12 Apr 1791), one *Cak Toau Nhak Rum* Rivet shop, was in use in 1795 (ROB 28 Jun 1795), a cannon weighing 128 viss (467.2 lbs) was successfully cast for the first time in *Mranma* on 1 January 1802<sup>43</sup>, a *Sakra: Khyak* Sugar factory, was running in 1807 (ROB 11 Jan 1807), a *Yantaya: Cak* ?Machine to make machines, was working in 1811 (ROB 9 Jan 1811), a *Mi: Cak* Steam Engine, was used to make bayonets and a *Nhan: Ran Cak* Rose water bottling machine, was at work in 1817 (ROB 29 Aug 1817). Development however was extremely slow and it took half a century to have another wave of importing more machines. A mint was built and the first 'peacock coin' was struck on 11 November 1865. A telegraph line was constructed in 1869 from *Mantale*: to *Mre Tai* in the south and it was linked with the British line on 28 May 1873. The line was later extended north to *Ban: Moau* on 20 March 1877. More machines like *Pwat Kham Cak* Lathe machine, *Phok Cu: Cak* Boring or Drilling machine, *Rwe Bhoau Cak* Planing machine, *Wan Khyi Cak* Crane, *Sam Pra Krit Cak* Sheet-iron Machine, and *A: Pe: Mi: Cak* Steam Engine to work the machines, sent by Tact and Company arrived on (16) January 1869<sup>44</sup>. A steam printing press published the first number of the *Mandalay Gazettee* on 22 April 1874. The publications of the *Mranma* version of the *Pitaka* and the chronicle called *Mhan Nan: Rajawan* followed soon. An electric lighting was experimented on 26 September 1884<sup>45</sup>. The first *Mranma* steam boat called *Rhwe Han Tha* was launched from the dock [probably in *Ran Kun* ] in September 1841<sup>46</sup>. A *Mranma* called *Na Bhui*: was made *Sanbho Toau Ci: Kappitam* Royal ship captain (ROB 27 Jul 1872). Several steam boats for inland waterways as well as a few for sea-going bought or constructed locally were :

<i>Cakra Yan Pyam Sanbho Toau</i> [two mast sea going]	14 Sep 1883
<i>Cakra Yan Mwan Sanbho Toau</i> [from Hadley & Bullock]	6 Sep 1864
<i>Cakra Yan Lwan, Sanbho Toau</i> [plying the <i>Erawati</i> ]	14 Sep 1883
<i>Tu Lwat Yan Kyoau Sanbho Toau</i>	30 Apr 1883
<i>Tu Lwat Yan Pyam Sanbho Toau</i>	15 Mar 1884
<i>Mra Nan: Cakra Sanbho Toau</i>	6 Jan 1852
<i>Ratana Yan Kyoau Sanbho Toau</i>	14 Sep 1883
<i>Ratana Yan Pyam Sanbho Toau</i>	29 Aug 1873
<i>Ratana Yan Mwan Sanbho Toau</i>	Apr 1848
<i>Ratana Yan Sa</i>	14 Sep 1883,
	22 Nov 1865
<i>Re Nan: Cakra Sanbho Toau</i> [from Calogredy]	15 Mar 1884,
	Aug 1886
<i>Re Nan: Yansa</i> [from Macloed]	12 Jul 1844 and
<i>Rhwe Hantha Sanbho</i>	Sep 1844.

In the middle of the 19th century the western powers started to demand the extraterritorial rights in Asian countries like China and Japan and *Mranma* and

the king had no way to avoid the *Twai Bhak Rum*: Mixed Court, at his capital city. Following the English, French and United States of America became *Athu: sa phran*, *Akhwan, pe: lhyak rhi san*, *Akhra: Nuin Nam Anyui: Sa: 47*. The king thought that the only way to counter it was to change the *Mranma* civil and criminal law and legal procedures. The law used or introduced in 'British Burma' by the English served as the model for these changes. Unfortunately both the king as well as his minister did not understand the concepts of new law nor did they considered them necessary. Consequently the changes remained only on the *Purapuik* Black Paper. Several other things took their turn of priority leading to the lost of national independence before the year 1885 ended.

#### Notes

- 1 See also *Tan , Up , I* , 1931, S 163, p. 261 and note on ROB 15 Jul 1817
- 2 *Tan , Up , III*, 1932, S 387, p. 131
- 3 *Mhan Nan: , II*, 1967, pp. 102 and 106
- 4 *Mhan Nan: , II*, 1967, p. 187
- 5 *Mhan Nan; , II*, 1967, p. 267
- 6 *Siriujana , Lokabyuha* , 1962, p. 7
- 7 *Kun: , I*, 1967 Reprint, p. 371
- 8 *Tan , Up , V*, 1983, S 546, p. 57
- 9 *Tan , Up , I*, 1931, S 4, p. 4
- 10 *Tan , Up , I*, 1931, S 4, p. 4
- 11 *Tan , Up , V*, 1933, S 562, p. 110
- 12 *Tan , Up , III*, 1932, S 338, p. 46
- 13 *Tan , Up , V*, S 553, p. 88, S 596, p. 227
- 14 *Tan, Up , IV*, S 491, p. 210
- 15 *Inscriptions of Burma* Pl. 5211
- 16 *Jeyasankhaya , Rhwe Bhum Nidan: , 21 Feb 1784*, S 64, 1920 Reprint p. 140
- 17 *National Museum Pe* 1945
- 18 *Jeyasankhaya , Bhum*, 21 Feb 1784, S 85
- 19 *Jeyasankhaya , Bhum*, 21 Feb 1784, S 104
- 20 *Jeyasankhaya , Bhum*, 21 Feb 1784, S 85
- 21 *Than Tun*, "History of Buddhism in Burma, AD 1000-1300", *JBRs* , LXI, Dec 1978, pp. iv, 20, 23, 24, 30, 38, 39, 75, 87, 100, 101, 120
- 22 *Tan, Rhwe Nan: Sum: Wohara Abhidan , 1975*, pp. 264-266
- 23 *Tan, Wo , 1975*, pp. 263-266
- 24 *Tan, Up . V*, S 530, p. 1
- 25 *San: Chwe, " Ta Kon: Mrui, hon: tu: phoau le, la twe, rhi khyak mya:"*, *Takkasuil Panna Padesa*, VI, iv, October 1971, pp. 203-245
- 26 *Tan, Up , II*, 1932, S 242, pp. 150-152
- 27 *Tan, Up , III*, 1932, S 319, pp. 18-19
- 28 *Ri , Sutresana Abhidan Mya: , 1975*, p. 210; *Tan , Wo , 1975*, p. 76; *Tan , Up , IV*, 1933, S 444, pp. 50, 51, 52
- 29 *Kun: , II*, 1967 Reprint, pp. 184 and 187
- 30 *Tan , Up , IV*, 1933, S 429, p. 18
- 31 *Tan , Wo , 1975*, pp. 190-193
- 32 *Tan , Wo , 1975*, pp. 105 and 194
- 33 *Tan , Wo , 1975*, pp. 104-105
- 34 *Kun: , II*, 1967 Reprint, p. 465
- 35 *Kun: , III*, 1967 Reprint, pp. 182-183



- 36 *Tan , Wo , 1975, Introduction p. kho*
- 37 The age of maturity for a lad is sixteen and for a lass fifteen. *Manu Ran: , Ed. by Tak Tui: , 1875, S 106, p. 101*
- 38 19 April 1827, *Tan , Up , V, 1981, S 541, pp. 30-31*
- 39 ROB VII, Map on p. 147
- 40 *Mhan Nan: , III, p. 266*
- 41 *Mhan Nan: , III, p. 289*
- 42 *Kun: , III, 1968 Reprint, p. 355*
- 43 The *Mantale*: University Museum has in its collection this cannon with the date 1 January 1802 inscribed on it.
- 44 *Kun: , III, 1968 Reprint, p. 371*
- 45 *Kun: , III, 1968 Reprint, p. 665*
- 46 *Kun: , III, 1968 Reprint, p. 4*
- 47 *Kun: , III, 1968 Reprint, pp. 646, 674, 675, 677, 678, 679, 681*

## The Law

In most of the royal orders on administration of justice there was a general remark that a judge shall consult all relevant parts of the *Dhammasat* [*Mranma* Customary Law], *Rajasat* [Ruling / King], *Phrat Thum*: [Ruling / Judge] and *Cac Tam*: [Statement on Local Condition] and listen carefully to what the contending parties had to say before he made a decision (ROB 23 Jun 1607, ROB 3 Mar 1782).

In another word the judge was encouraged to use his discretion to reach a decision though he was advised to get all information in connection with the case he had to decide (ROB 18 Aug 1783). When someone discovered a hidden treasure, the *Dhammasat* allowed the king to take one half of it as his share but the king said that the treasure was in fact the income of the discoverer and therefore he considered that he was entitled to take only one tenth of it (ROB 6 Jul 1813). This is one instance where the king following the concept of *Sassamedha* <sup>1</sup> introduced from India corrected the *Dhammasat*. In an appointment order of a judge (ROB 21 Jun 1814) the *Dhammasat* is used in the sense that it contains the original text as well as its explanations and applications made by the noted judges of earlier times.

When a complaint was filed in a court the judge shall consult the *Manu Dhammasat* [?Original Manu] first; if that is not sufficient use *Manosara Rhwe Myan*: [Gold Bond Work of Explanation on Manu by Manosara] in four parts; if a further reference is necessary use *Kuin: Ca: Manu Raja (Phrat Thum:)* [Rulings of Manu Raja, Lord of Kuin:] which was compiled (long ago) in the time of our ancestors; in another words precedence shall be taken into consideration in making a decision of any case that was brought to a law court (ROB 21 Jun 1814).

Moreover the king wanted to supplement the *Dhammasat* with one of his proclamations which was virtually his attempt to explain the *Mranma* customary law with the *Jataka* stories and another explanation made by *Manosara*..

Order: In addition to the fact that various *Dhammasat* s disagree (in some aspects of law), (sic) the original *Manu Kyay* [Manu Explained] has never been brought (into this country); when there is no reference to a certain type of case in *Pran Tam: Kri: Great Proclamation* (ROB 28 Jan 1795) and/or no judgement (that could be used as precedent) on

some particular type of dispute, etc. , decision shall be made on the aggregate of the four major works *Dhammasat* , viz. *Manosara Rhwe Myan*: in four parts.

This Order was passed on 31 May 1817 and proclaimed by *Jayya Singhasu, Na;Kham Toau Camron Mhu*: Liaison Officer-cum-Chief of Caduceus Bearers.

A work force or a fighting force would lost some men by death or desertion and eventually each group would not be strong enough to carry out its assigned task. The king was of the opinion that such things needed immediate attention (ROB 1 Mar 1569) and the missing men must be traced and brought back to the mother unit (ROB 10 Apr 1679, 30 Jun 1769). There were of course a number reasons that made a member of one group to leave it. It would be the cruelty of the master or the ambition of the men to improve his situation or the encouragement of an influential person who wanted good men working for him. The main reason to get back the original men in the group was to restore the former efficiency of the group on the one hand and on the other hand the king maintained that promotions, demotions and transfers were his prerogative. There was also a belief that a religious slave and all his descendants remain religious slaves and that they were considered social outcasts. At the beginning everybody in a kingdom was the king's slave and there was only a change of ownership when one slave was turned into a religious slave and no social stigma was attached to him. In an intergroup marriage the children of the union were divided according to an adage of boys go with the father and girls stay with the mother. Later we do not know exactly when but probably after the fall of *Pukam* or late in the 15th century when King Ramadhipati *Dhammaceti* 1472-1492 started religious reformations from about 1480 this rule was changed in favour of the religion so that all children became religious slaves when one parent either father or mother was a religious slave. After this change all slave owners naturally banned their slaves to consort with any religious slave. There was another episode when King Mahadhammaraja *Anokphaklwan* 1606-1628 went to capture *Samlhyan* he checked the fighting men with him and sent back religious servant he found among them because he was advised that he should not use them. The advise was based on the simple fact that the religious servant should be doing only the religious service. But later it was misinterpreted that they brought ill luck and had delayed considerably the success of the campaign. [ *Samlyan* was taken on 18 March 1613]. The misinterpretations were carried much further that religious servants became social outcasts.

On disputes among group members the group leader was made the arbitrator and he would use the maxim

*Kri: san, caka: nay on nay san caka; pa prok on*

Mitigate the big word and forget the small one.

(ROB 11 Feb 1812, ROB 21 Aug 1813, ROB 21 Jun 1814, ROB 23 Nov 1815, ROB 17 Nov 1816, ROB 4 May 1837, ROB 12 May 1837, ROB 17 May 1837, ROB 22 Apr 1838, ROB 15 Nov 1839, ROB 9 Dec 1841, ROB 1 Dec 1848, ROB 15 Oct 1852, ROB 5 Aug 1853, ROB 28 Dec 1867, ROB 22 Jan 1875, ROB 21 Apr 1875, ROB 5 May 1875).

When there were disputes on the ownership of slave (ROB 18 Nov 1657, ROB 9 Apr 1692, ROB 20 Jun 1718, ROB 21 May 1743) that remained undecided for several generations, a trial by water ordeal was done to decide the case finally. So was a water ordeal prescribed to decide a land dispute of several generations standing (ROB 11 Dec 1787). Disputes on religious land would be decided by a

*Vinayadhara* expert in the *Vinaya* [The Book of Discipline] (ROB 12 Feb 1654, ROB 1 Jan 1655, ROB 14 May 1720, ROB 23 Feb 1722, ROB 29 Jan 1726). *Lhwat Toau* decided the disputes on inheritance of hereditary offices (ROB 4 Sep 1783, ROB 19 Oct 1783, ROB 7 Dec 1783).

The *Dhammasat* would recognize various reasons like adultery, cruelty, desertion, incompatibility, infidelity, etc. for a divorce, there in only one royal order found so far on divorce and the reason for divorce was political. Prince *Can, Ku:* was granted divorce from his wife who was a daughter of a man involved in Prince *Pan: Ta Lai* conspiracy (ROB 23 Jul 1785). The *Dhammasat* it seems does not consider a court decision necessary for divorce because it elaborates only on desertion suggesting that it is the best way to have a divorce. On desertion it says :

1 When a husband was not pleased with his wife and he went away giving her not even a leaf of grocery and a piece of firewood for the entire period of three years and after this three year period this man can take another wife and the women can take another husband<sup>2</sup>.

2 When a wife could not continue living with her husband and she went away giving him not even a leaf of grocery and a piece of firewood for the entire period of one year and after this one year period this woman can take another husband and the man can take another wife<sup>3</sup>.

3 When a man became an ordained monk his wife shall wait seven days. After the seventh day the man cannot come back and claim her as wife. She was free to take another husband<sup>4</sup>.

The *Tara: Rum:* Law Court, was the place where people came to have their grievances redressed. Usually civil disputes were tried there (ROB 12 Nov 1783) because *Lhwat Toau* was for succession and boundary disputes and the *Rhe, Rum:* was for criminal cases (ROB 24 Apr 1853). The *Nok Rum:* tried cases dealing with women of the western half of the palace (ROB 24 Apr 1853). The court fees seemed to have risen in the course of time. There was an order to reduce them (ROB 4 May 1697, ROB 27 Sep 1845, ROB 23 Apr 1854). Some judges accepted cases which were not strictly within their power to try and an order was therefore passed to warn them not to do so (ROB 8 Jul 1728) and judges must also take care that nothing could be said or done unless both parties were present (ROB 28 Apr 1728). A judgement would be written only when both parties accepted it (ROB 14 Aug 1783). Such a decision would be popularly called *Labhak Ca: Khyak Phrat Ca* Decision when parties ate pickled tea together because they were happy with the decision (ROB 29 Aug 1819). If both parties wanted it, a case might be withdrawn from the court (ROB 10 Dec 1689, ROB 1 Jun 1801). No officer shall represent any one of the contending parties even if that party consisted of men under his charge (ROB 3 Mar 1782, ROB 30 Jun 1784). No cultivator shall be called upon to appear at the court of law either as an evidence or as a defendant during the growing season (ROB 20 Jun 1604, ROB 26 Jun 1784). One king said that law suits shall wait until the war was over (ROB 1 Jan 1760). All these points suggests that people would prefer to decide their differences outside the law court (ROB 3 Mar 1782) and the king had no objection against the elders taking up a case even something like assault. A pledge before the elders to live a good life in future was good enough to allow a culprit go free. There were licenced pleaders to help the contestants at court (ROB 23 Jun 1607, NM *Pe* 1945, 23 Jun 1770, ROB 29 Aug 1783), but no two pleaders shall represent a single client (ROB 4 May 1697).

The pleaders were given a separate quarter outside the capital city and to differentiate a pleader from other people he put on a pointed hat, carried a yellow handled fan and a bag (ROB 23 Jun 1607). He took as his fee 31½ ticals of copper from his client and being a clever speaker he was warned to speak only within the framework of the *Dhammasat* (ROB 29 Aug 1783) and whenever he talked too much a judge would punish him with one hundred lashes or exiling him for the contempt of court (ROB 22 Nov 1637). When his client wanted to appeal, he was allowed to write an appeal on his behalf (ROB 29 Aug 1783) and send it to a higher court. The oath he took at the time when he received the pleader's licence was as follows :

(I ... ) will never allow (myself) to be influenced by the high or low status of a client; (I) will always try to be free from four unhealthy considerations due to greed, anger, ignorance or love; (I) will forever take care not to become biased due to the fact that a person is one of (my) blood relatives or he is a very close friend of (mine) or he had given (me) large money; and (I) will confine (my) arguments within the framework of *Dhammasat*. If (I) were careless to break any promise now given may (I) suffer the calamities mentioned in the Book of Oaths (ROB 29 Apr 1769).

In addition to *Dhammasat* and *Rajasat*, there were *Dhamma Wat* - Way of Law, suggesting an understanding of religious principles on what was right and what was wrong, *Raja Wat* Way of King, suggesting precedence as to how kings of old would react to a certain problem, and *Loka Wat* Way of People, suggesting everyone had his own duty to fulfil and the king wanted his officers to be careful of these three things. On the assumption that nothing could go wrong when everyone was doing his own duty with conscience (ROB 17 Nov 1815, ROB 17 Nov 1816, ROB 4 May 1837, ROB 25 Jun 1839, ROB 1 Dec 1843, ROB 3 Aug 1852, ROB 5 Aug 1853, ROB 18 Oct 1859, ROB 6 Apr 1861, ROB 15 Jan 1872, ROB 3 Jul 1880).

The king's territory grew in size and in proportion to this growth in size the number of crimes grew (ROB 5 Apr 1568) in it. It was believed that prevention of crime (ROB 13 Jan 1768, ROB 31 AUG 1783) was a much more better way to preserve peace. When an officer was appointed to administer law and order in a particular area he was advised to suppress all crimes and to take measures to prevent similar crimes from appearing again (ROB 16 Nov 1782, ROB 19 Mar 1783, ROB 6 May 1810). Death penalty was the capital punishment and when the degree to execute for adultery was passed (ROB 12 Sep 1787, ROB 3 Nov 1817) we felt that punishments in those days were very severe. One *Na Ta Lut* was having an affair with *Mi Noau* wife of *Man: Lha Kyoau Cwa* (ROB 12 Sep 1787) and both were sentenced to death. Then the death penalty was commuted for hard labour. *Mi Noau* was put in *Thao: Khyan*, [Workers to unhusk paddy] and *Na Ta Lut* was sent to *Chan Ca Rit* [Workers to collect elephant fodder]. *Na Ta Lut*'s father had the words *Lu chui: myui:* [sired a rogue] tattooed across his chest and sent to join a labour gang (ROB 13 Sep 1787). The father was later pardoned but *Na Ta Lut* was imprisoned (ROB 6 Nov 1787). For rape one *Na Sa Mrat* (committed against an eight year old step daughter) was exiled to one of the areas of deep forest (ROB 8 Nov 1787) but for a gang rape chief of *Khan Lu:* and his followers were executed (ROB 15 Oct 1806). In a case of fallatio, the monk *Tejosara* had to leave the monkhood but he was not taken as criminally liable because he

had had the consent of the other party to do that (ROB 2 Oct 1810). The attitude on sex crimes was given as :

Punish adultery after establishing whether man or woman would be held responsible and the punishment should equal the degree of sinfulness. Exile those who had committed incest between mother and son and between father and daughter and also those who are homosexual. Punish seduction of young woman or committing adultery in consideration of the social status of the persons involved. Ridicule the lesbian and sodomites. Do not allow oneself to become a philanderer. A prostitute is wife to the man during the time she is paid for and it is adultery committed by both parties when she goes with another man before the time she agrees to spend with the first man is over (ROB 28 Jan 1795)

All local chiefs were told to keep the area under them free of theft and robbery. When they could not do this they were punished (ROB 28 Oct 1810). When thieves escaped local people were punished because they did not join in the chase (ROB 1 Dec 1810). Killing cattle for meat was crime (ROB 12 Oct 1811). Failure to pay respect to seniors in age and status was also a crime (ROB 22 Oct 1855) though we do not know the punishments for them.

The law of escheat under customary law was a little different from the religious law. When a monk or mendicant died leaving property without natural heir, the king got that property<sup>5</sup>. From religious view a mendicant was one who had severed himself from all his worldly ties and in that sense he could not possibly have either property or heir. The things that he had used when he was alive naturally went to other mendicants. *Kuin: Ca: Manu* maintained that for common people an heir does not necessarily mean the children of a deceased person; his or her parents are also heirs<sup>6</sup>.

*Khwai Tam: Ca* Will, was respected and it means that a dying man could name his heirs, natural or otherwise (ROB 31 May 1817)<sup>7</sup>. *U Kon*: said that in the absence of an heir (either in one generation above or one below the deceased) the property went to the king<sup>8</sup> (ROB 3 Mar 1782). Another attitude was that anyone who nursed a person on the verge of death and who paid the debts of the deceased and the expenses of his or her burial got the property left behind when he or she had no heir. Prince *Sanja* did exactly that and took the property of *Mi Man: U*: (widow of *Raja Kyoau Su*) (ROB 25 Apr 1837, ROB 28 Apr 1837, ROB 21 Feb 1806). Similarly Chief Queen got the property of *Mi Ywan: Cam (Katu: Katoau)* (ROB 21 Sep 1806) and Prince *Ca Kuin*: the properties of five landowners in *Ratanasingha* (ROB 5 Oct 1806). This virtually abolished the office of *Amwe Wan* Inheritance Officer, and *Amwe Tuik* Treasury of Escheat (ROB 25 Apr 1837, ROB 28 Apr 1837).

The *Rhe, Rum: Ca Tam*: East Court Manual (12 Feb 1785) gives us a comprehensive account on how punishments were executed. We have mentioned above that the *Tara: Rum*: Law Court, was for all civil suits except succession and boundary disputes which were reserved for *Lhwat Toau* and *Rhe, Rum*: East Court, was for all criminal cases except crimes against the king like attempts to assassinate him or dethrone him. The idea of *Tara: Raja Wat* under the *Mranma* king was quite different from the later conceptions introduced under the British rule. Under the British it was the king who made the law and to violate the law was a crime and the violator was a criminal. *Tara: Ma Mhu* was

civil and *Raja Wat Mhu* was criminal. Under the *Mranma* king *Tara*: Law, was universal and the violator from theft to murder shall undergo a *Tara*; *Ma Kron*: Trial of Law, whereas any attempt to harm the king was to undergo a *Raja Wat Kron*: Trial of King. The law courts were to act under the following three principles :

1 People who come to the law court were already the victims of some mistake and they wanted redress; do not give them an additional trouble through court procedures.

2 Truth shall prevail.

3 Respect the precedence.

An order was passed to prescribe in the simplest terms the court procedure (ROB 3 March 1782) and the overall attitude on the administration of justice was given as follows :

Filing a law suit in a court should be discouraged (because it is best to have a dispute settled outside the court). But when a plaint was already lodged, never let a simple case grows into a complex one if it can be helped (ROB 18 Aug 1783).

Other ideas on the law court are also interesting to note. The law court was one of the three places where there should be no crowds. The other two were the prison and the cemetery. The judges were warned that 'punishment should be equal to the extent of the crime. It is correct that the *Dhammasat* should guide the general procedure, but it varies with time and place and some points in it would not be applicable at all at later times.

Punishments were very severe. Why? We are given this answer.

Give the most severe punishments to those who are guilty of theft and robbery. The king wants to be magnanimous but one good example could stop others from becoming bad. Therefore such punishments are necessary (ROB 6 May 1249).

There were eight kinds of punishments usually mentioned as *Sat* [execute], *Phrat* [mutilate], *Kwak* [a circle tattooed on the cheek], *Mhat* [words tattooed either on the forehead or across the chest or on the forearm mentioning the crime or just the phrase "no more crime"], *Phran*, [added to one of the work gangs of *Wan,si* , *Buin:ta* , *Lamuin* : , etc.], *Than*, [sent in a military expedition], *Pui*, [sent to one of the four deep forest areas located near *Mui: Kon* : , *Ban* : *Moau* , *Me Ja* and *Rhwe Li* ], *Ap* [put under custody of a minister or sent to a lock-up] ; *I Rhac Rap* [these eight ] *mhat le* [are to be taken as] *Raja Dan* [the King's Punishment<sup>9</sup>.]

There were nothing like telling why a man was arrested or how long he would be held in custody and when a fair trial would be held. People acquiesced because they did not really know what to do to change the situation if they did not like the present one. They thought that a king was born to rule and everybody else was his slave. So it was up to the king to say something different for a change.

King Tryaphya III *Man: Kri: Cwa Coau Kai* 1367-1400 said :

Officers-in-Charge of towns and villages help the people to live in peace and prosper. Mitigate a big offence and forget the small one. Keep the taxes, etc. in the minimum (ROB 19 Jun 1368).

King *Pa Tum* 1782-1819 told his officers to wear *Calway* Shoulder Threads, like the Brahmins, while they were on duty. An officers had a *Calway* of 3 or 6 or 9 threads, minister 12, prince 15 or 18, crown prince 21 and king 24. It was believed

that these shoulder threads would be a constant reminder to the wearer to be righteous (ROB 3 Jun 1784). The good words, however, were never put into real use. Punishments remain severe in the sense that they were too heavy for certain cases.

Abuse of official power : exiled to one of the four areas of deep forest [located near *Mui: Kon: , Ban: Moau , Mai Ja* and *Rhwe Li* ] (ROB 24 Jun 1786, ROB 17 Aug 1817)

Adultery : male sent with troops in a military campaign (ROB 2 Aug 1787, ROB 20 Oct 1787)

Allowing a convict to escape : execute the responsible officers (ROB 30 May 1795)

Allowing a few copies of the Pitaka destroyed in fire : execute one chief monk and one minister (ROB 12 Apr 1794)

Assault : exiled to the *Mre Chum: End of Land* (ROB 30 Aug 1772)

Assisting an absconder : given one hundred lashes (ROB 20 Sep 1784)

Coming back from exile : executed (ROB 17 Jul 1801)

Destroying an embankment of a reservoir : burnt alive (ROB 17 Jul 1801)

Dishonesty in business : exiled to *Gan, Go* (ROB 16 Oct 1787)

Evasion of military service : fined Ks 150 (ROB 14 Nov 1787)

Failure to assist (Assistant Minister) : put in the sun (ROB 13 Aug 1854)

Failure to get the quota of recruits : execute the Recruiting Officer (ROB 25 Aug 1787); dismiss from office (ROB 24 Oct 1787, ROB 4 Nov 1787, ROB 5 Nov 1787)

Fighting in a festival : executed (ROB 8 Apr 1806)

Fishing in a lake that had been declared as a place of no killing : Executed the chief for the crime of his men (ROB 8 Apr 1865)

Giving advice that had never been asked : put in the sun (ROB 20 Sep 1784)

Having a sexual intercourse on a royal barge : fined (ROB 28 May 1817)

Having extra-marital relations : male exiled to forest; female put to work in palace menial labour group (ROB 10 Jul 1806)

Heresy : exiled to forest (ROB 25 Apr 1784); executed

Indecision (ministers) : put in the sun (ROB 8 Jun 1801)

Influencing judge to pass a wrong decision (pleader) : exiled to forest (ROB 8 Jun 1801)

Killing cattle for beef : ?executed (ROB 6 Oct 1858)

Killing husband : not punished (ROB 26 Aug 1817)

Killing wife : not punished (ROB 29 Oct 1817)

Magic used to destroy enemy : exiled to forest (ROB 24 Jun 1786)

Murder : executed (ROB 29 Aug 1817)

Rape : exiled to forest (ROB 8 Nov 1787)

Robbery : executed (ROB 15 Oct 1806)

Runaway Royal Land cultivator : executed (ROB 8 Jul 1801)

Setting fire to town or village : burnt alive (ROB 30 Apr 1806)

Supporting a false claim in land dispute : cut the hand, cut the tongue (ROB 1 Sep 1785); exiled to forest (ROB 1 Sep 1785)

Taking bribe : pour the molten silver down the throat; return the silver taken

Taking notes on confidential matters : cut the hand (ROB 28 Apr 1785)

Talkative women : cut the mouth wider across the cheeks (ROB 16 Dec 1759)

Talking on forbidden things : exiled to forest (ROB 11 Aug 1787)

Theft : male executed (ROB 2 Jul 1795); sent with troops (ROB 2 Aug 1787, ROB 20 Oct 1787); female put in palace menial labour group (ROB 11 Dec 1810)

Trying to get transferred oneself from a lower to higher group : executed (ROB 5 May 1810)

Using silver below standard : exiled to *Gan, Go* and *Kalo* (ROB 16 Oct 1787)

Writing official correspondence not at office : cut the hand (ROB 24 Aug 1787)

The second last king of *Mranma* [ *Man: Tum: 1853-1878*] probably realised that kings should not pronounce judgement with caprice. He said that a punishment should not be more than what the culprit deserved (ROB 19 Jul 1855).

Unfortunately he too did not practice what he said.

In case of either assault or slander it would be tried under the customary law and the guilty person was punished accordingly. The victim would receive compensation . Then the wrong was considered to have been redressed. A king, however, on clemency would condone the crime and set the culprit free. Such a condonation was acclaimed all the more benevolent when the king set free a man who tried to assassinate him or to misappropriate his funds (ROB 5 Apr 1568). Once a rebellious vassal was forgiven though he was told to join the army marching south (ROB 15 Jan 1756). As there was still a chance of being killed in battle the order to join a military campaign in the vanguard was taken as part of the punishment. After having a man condoned he was sometimes put under the care of some officer (ROB 12 Jan 1811). A new king would like to free all prisoners just to show his benevolence (ROB 22 Feb 1782). On the day of *U Kan Sa* Official Opening of the Throne Room for the first time in a reign, all prisoners including those guilty of conspiracy (ROB 3 Jun 1784) as well as caged birds, chained bears and confined carnivores were set free (ROB 10 Jul 1784). The same thing of setting free the captured ones either man or animal would be done at the beginning of the Buddhist lent that falls on about the summer solstice (ROB 21 Aug 1785) or a prison sentence would be commuted because it was war time (ROB 21 Aug 1785). In some cases the guilty ones were officers themselves and the king did not want to be so exacting to punish them. When another officer stood guarantor for them (ROB 5 Mar 1786) or when they had had a promise written to behave in future (ROB 14 Mar 1786) they were pardoned. *Na Kyoau Su Kyoau* and his family were arrested and sentenced to death by being burnt alive and then they were all pardoned (ROB 14 Oct 1807). Sometimes we find three orders issued in succession; a later one cancels the former. *Na Kam Pe:* was sentenced to death (ROB 11 Aug 1787); then the execution was commuted for an exile to one of the areas of deep forest (ROB 11 Aug 1787); finally he was pardoned and called back to the capital city (ROB 26 Oct 1787). There is nothing else to explain such a thing except that the orders depended much on the whims of the king who passed them. *Na Mrat Sa* [ *Lamuin: Wan* ] and *Na U:* [ *Ton Bhak Tuik Wan* ] who led the forces marching from *Madama* [into Thailand] were arrested (ROB 15 Oct 1787) and then they were released (ROB 15 Oct 1787) and presumably given back their commands. Palace entertainers were not supposed to perform elsewhere. One *Na Man: On* was arrested for playing harp to entertain people outside palace (ROB 10 Nov 1787) and he was pardoned the next day (ROB 11 Nov 1787). *Na Mrat Su* [ *Man: Kri: Nanda Kyoau Than* ] was 'taken to the west' to be executed (ROB 12 Mar 1788) and then he was pardoned (ROB 15 Mar 1788). Ladies of the court who had had their hair cut were arrested and maids who also had short hair were sent to the river to be drowned (ROB 27 Apr 1806) and they all were pardoned (ROB 27 Apr 1806). On grounds of compassion a princess either the consort of crown prince (ROB 18 Feb 1788) or a daughter of the king (ROB 11



Sep 1807, ROB 19 May 1833 ) or a grand daughter of the king (ROB 16 Oct 1807) would be given permission to send *Arwat Wan* - Officer to segregate lepers, to get the sentenced man before execution and set him free (ROB 15 Mar 1788).

*Swe: Sacca Sok san Amhu* ?Conspiracy [when a few men mixed their own blood and drink the mixture pledging fidelity to conspire against the king] , was tried by the ministers (ROB 21 Jun 1691) if no minister was in it. There was an order that except for treason no one would be held in custody (ROB 20 Mar 1758) and it means that there were no long term imprisonments or a prison in those days. Men would be held in a lock-up for an indefinite time but only for interrogation and awaiting court decision that would be execution, exile, fine, mutilation, thrashing, etc. but no imprisonment. During interrogation the suspect would be tortured to admit his guilt and name his associates (ROB 17 Oct 1783, ROB 30 Jul 1807, ROB 14 Mar 1810). When Prince *Pan: Ta Lai* was suspected of treason (ROB 28 Apr 1784) he and his supposed associate Prince *Pu Kham:* were sent to fight in the *Rakhuin* campaign (ROB 20 Feb 1785). *Pan: Ta Lai* survived the rigours of war and was executed on 19 June 1785<sup>10</sup>. His supporters were also executed (ROB 18 Jul 1785, ROB 23 Jul 1785). Though a rebellion led by *Na Khyac Tan* in *Non Rhwe* [Yawnghwe] area was suppressed (ROB 24 Jan 1788), rebellions in *Rakhuin* were never completely suppressed because they could escape into the English territories (ROB 25 Oct 1806).

#### Notes

- 1 *Sassamedha* Tithe or any percentage depending on rich or poor harvest; see *Tan, Wo* , 1975, p. 2 ; *Tan , Up* , I, 1931, S 36, p. 71, S 37, p. 72-73
- 2 *Manu Kyay* [Manu Explained] , V, pp. 17 and 141
- 3 *Manu Kyay* , V, pp. 17 and 141
- 4 *Manu Kyay* , V, pp. 17 and 141
- 5 *Manu Kyay* , XI, pp. 2 and 323
- 6 *Kuin: Ca; Manu , Lhyok Thum: ,* pp. 30 and 32
- 7 *Tan , Up* , III, S 345, pp. 57-58, S 348, p. 60
- 8 *Kon: , Summary of Thirty Six Dhammasats ,* Ch 26, S 413
- 9 *Tan , Wo* , 1975, pp. 259-260
- 10 *Kun: Bhon Chak ,* II, 1967, p. 22s

## The Religion

The king appointed the *Sasanapru* Supreme Leader for the Extension and Propagation of the Buddha's Religion, believing that it too was his duty to help and extend the Religion (ROB 29 May 1755, ROB 3 Jun 1782, ROB 27 Jun 1786, ROB 19 Mar 1787, ROB 7 Mar 1786, ROB 1 May 1806). A committee of twelve monks was also appointed to assist the Supreme Leader in various aspects of religious affairs (ROB 27 Jun 1786). *Guin: Up* Local Monk Leader, and *Guin: Thok* Local Monk Assistant Leader, were also appointed to establish a hierarchy of Buddhist monks.

List of The Most Supreme Leaders of Religion appointed by Mranma Kings			
Pali Name	Popular Name	King who appointed him	Reference
	<i>Padukri: Sangaraja</i>	<i>Satui: Man: Phya:</i>	<i>Salan</i> 135
		1364-1367	
	<i>Rakhuin Chara</i>	<i>Tryaphya III Man: Kri:</i>	<i>Salan</i> 137
	<i>Mahasangharaja</i>	<i>Cwa Coau Kai</i> 1367-1400	
	<i>Amran Chara</i>		<i>Salan</i> 137
<i>Khemacara</i>	<i>Awa Dan,to Chara</i>		<i>Salan</i> 137-8
	<i>Pwai Kyaon: On</i>	<i>Man: Khon I</i> 1400-1423	<i>Salan</i> 131
	<i>Cankhun</i>		
	<i>Pan: Ya Cakrui Sumrat</i>		<i>Salan</i>
139-40			
	<i>Man: Kyon: Sumrat</i>	<i>Mui: Nhan: Satui:</i>	<i>Salan</i> 140-41
		1426-1439	
<i>Nagita</i>	<i>Chu: Twan Prac</i>	<i>Narapati</i> 1442-1468	<i>Salan</i> 133
	<i>Chara</i>		
<i>Saddhammasiri</i>		<i>Man: Khon II</i> 1482-1501	<i>Salan</i> 141
	<i>Le: Thap Kyon:</i>	<i>Non Ram: 1600-1606</i>	<i>Salan</i> 161-64
	<i>Chara</i>		
	<i>Mahasanghanatha</i>		
<i>Tilokalankara</i>		<i>Pan: Ta Lai</i> 1648-1661	<i>Salan</i> 172
<i>?Ukkamsamala</i>		<i>Cane</i> 1698-1714	<i>Salan</i> 182
	<i>Mhanci Chara</i>	<i>Tananganwe</i> 1714-1733	<i>Salan</i> 183
	<i>Mui: Thi Chara</i>		
	<i>Lakkon: Chara</i>		
	<i>Buddhankura Chara</i>		
<i>Nanavara</i>	<i>Kyoau On Cam Tha:</i>	<i>Hamsawati Rok</i>	<i>Salan</i> 183-84
		1733-1752	
<i>Yasa DRG</i>	<i>Atula Chara</i>	<i>Alon:man:tara: 1752-1760</i>	<i>Salan</i> 187
<i>Nana MDRG</i>	<i>Khan Kri; Pyoau</i>	<i>Ta Pa Yan: 1760-1763</i>	<i>Salan</i> 187-88
<i>Nandavara</i>	<i>Bhum Kyoau Tulwat</i>	<i>Mre Du: 1763-1776</i>	<i>Salan</i> 188
<i>MDRG</i>			
<i>Guna MDRDRG</i>	<i>Man Lan Chara</i>	<i>Can, Ku; 1776-1782</i>	<i>Salan</i> 188
<i>Nandamala</i>	<i>Bhum Kyoau Weyam</i>		<i>Salan</i> 190
<i>MDRDRG</i>			
<i>Nana MDRG</i>	<i>Mon: Ton: Chara</i>	<i>Pa Tum</i> 1782-1819	<i>Salan</i> 193
<i>Silacara</i>	<i>Man: Kwan: Tora</i>		<i>Salan</i> 212
<i>MDRDRG</i>			
<i>Pannasiha</i>	<i>Calan: Chara</i>	<i>Ca Kuin: 1819-1837</i>	<i>Salan</i> 212

MDRDRG  
*Suriya MDRDRG* Sai An: Chara Sarawati  
 1837-1846 Kun: II 552  
*Neyyadhamma* Mon: Ton Chara Kun: III  
 28

MDRDRG  
*Pannajota* Ba: Ga Ra Chara Pu Gam 1846-1853 Kun: III 70  
 MDRDRG  
*Neyyadhamma* Mon: Ton Chara Man: Tum: 1853-1878 Kun: III 153,  
 MDRDRG 154  
*MalaMDRDRG* Ton Toau Chara Sipo 1878-1885 Kun: III 589  
*Salan* Mahadhammasankram, Sasana Lankara , 1956 Reprint  
 Kun: II Kun: Bhon Chak II, 1967 Reprint  
 Kun: III Kun: Bhon Chak III, 1967 Reprint  
 DRG Dhammarajaguru  
 MDRG Mahadhammarajaguru  
 MDRDRG Mahadhammarajadhirajaguru

On (4) September 1884 King Sipo 1878-1885 passed an order to have all titles given to monks by the king to observe a certain form. He divided the monks to be honoured with titles into five groups in which the Most Supreme Leader of the religion was on the top<sup>1</sup>.

#### King Sipo 's Scheme of Ecclesiastical Titles

Class	I	Most Supreme Leader of the Religion	Own name	atula	dhipati	pavara	dhaja
	II		Own name	atula	dhipati	pavara	dhaja
	III		Own name		dhipati	pavara	dhaja
	IV		Own name			pavara	dhaja
	V		Own name				dhaja

The king and the religious leaders wanted to organize missionaries and extend the Buddha's Religion beyond the kingdom but before doing that they had to stop heresies and schism if there were any within the kingdom. From about the time of King Mahadhammaraja 1733-1752 there was a controversy among monks on the question of covering one shoulder or both shoulders with robe when a monk left his monastery and finally it was decided to 'cover both' (ROB 24 Feb 1780, ROB 3 Jun 1782). But this controversy appeared again in the time of King Pa Tum 1782-1819. The king understood that 'the robe was not religion' but he allowed the monks to have it decided in their own way. A debate was arranged between Atula [Leader of Tum / Atan ] and Janinda [Leader of Rum / Arum ] (ROB 21 Apr 1784) and Atula and An Kran: Pan Chara (ROB 23 Apr 1784). Atula was defeated on both counts and he was derobed (and became Na Pan: Thwe: ). Together with his followers (who were also derobed from monkhood like him), he was exiled (ROB 25 Apr 1784). (Except for having to leave the monkhood) other punishments to exile and to join the group collecting elephant fodder were condoned (ROB 27 Apr 1787). In his jubilation the king ordered to erect a stone with a record inscribed on it explaining how the religious schism was finally settled (ROB 28 Aug 1784). He also promised to take the cue from the community of monks to punish any monk with whom the community would not like to associate with (ROB 10 Mar 1782).

The king as 'the Defender of the Faith' was obsessed by the idea that there should be no consumption of beef and liquor in his country (ROB 11 Feb 1782). He believed that the five *Garudhamma* were important for the good of this life [as well as the lives hereafter] and accordingly he prohibited all drugs, all liquors, killing for meat and gambling (ROB 11 Feb 1782, ROB 20 Feb 1782, ROB 16 Nov 1782) and he insisted on using only standard weights and measures in all business transactions (ROB 20 Feb 1782). But his orders against opium 'eating' was only for the natives. Foreigners had the right to buy, sell and consume it (ROB 16 Dec 1817, ROB 18 Dec 1817, ROB 30 Dec 1817). He also took care that *Bhura: Asan* Men of Pagoda, and *Kyon: Asan* Men of Monastery, and their descendants remain religious servants even when the original religious establishment to which they were given as slaves was no longer in existence. Their services would be taken as having been transferred [automatically] to another establishment nearest to theirs which was now in ruin (ROB 25 Feb 1782). The same policy was adopted for the glebe (ROB 24 Mar 1783). Usually there were stone inscriptions dating back to early 12th century giving the list of land and men of the Religion. Actually some stone inscriptions were lost. Local chiefs were therefore ordered to approach elders who would know to get as much information as possible from them on glebe and religious slaves and report the information so gathered to the *Mahadan Wan* Officer of Religious Affairs (ROB 24 Mar 1783). The king asked the religious attitude on land ownership to the teacher of *Mon Thon* and he received the following answer of eleven points which had the support of the religious texts (ROB 27 Jul 1785).

1 The king is the only owner of all land in his realm.

2 No one else cannot own land. [A man who was the subject of the king could obtain the permission from him to use a certain piece of land and he was not the owner of that piece of land but the owner of the permission to use it ].

3 There were *Kan, San:* low mud wall partition, or *Sac Can:* hedge, or *Kyok Pum* – cairn, to mark the boundary of one land from another and even a hair's breath of encroachment of one land on another was theft.

4 A man working on religious land shall give part of the year's crop toward the maintenance of the Religion.

5 Though the religious establishment to which a certain land was given fell into ruin the land remained glebe and attached to another religious establishment near it.

6 Like the land revenue given to the king one tenth of the annual produce was sent to the religious establishment concerned by the tenant of the glebe.

7 In a garden which belonged to a religious establishment now in ruin and the gardener who was a religious servant had already fled, any passer-by was free to take the fruits, etc. found in the garden.

8 In some case the donor who gave the land with the permission of the king to the Religion would mention in his deed of transfer that a certain portion of the annual produce of the land should be used for food, light, repairs, etc. at a religious monument and the tenant got the remainder. Later when the original monument was gone the tenant should continue sending the 'tax' to any other religious establishment in the environment as 'fund for religious maintenance'. [If that was not even possible the tenant should send a bundle of the year's crop as a token of the 'tax' to any pagoda nearby.]

9 No glebe shall become king's land.

10 The transfer of land held good even after the death of the king who had sanctioned it.

11 Transfer of the land use from an individual to the Religion was binding even in the absence of legal or regular modes of transfer.

The king decided quick. He collected all glebe records and made a new list of all glebes. A prologue to all stone inscriptions of glebe redication was written by *Mon: Thon* teacher (ROB 22 Aug 1785, ROB 18 Oct 1786, ROB 24 Jun 1793)2.

There were also two remarkable things he did at that time. He evacuated all lay people living in the precincts of religious buildings (ROB 23 Sep 1787). Next he gave land outside the city area in exchange of all glebe within the city (ROB 3 Dec 1787). In addition to this the king passed an order that no more pagodas were to be built in the capital city (ROB 27 Mar 1806).

*Panca Sila* Five promises, were looked upon as the moral of the people and the king always passed an order as the Buddhist Lent which falls roughly between summer solstice [21 June] and autumnal equinox [22 September] every year approached to urge the people to observe these promises everyday (ROB 29 Jun 1783, ROB 5 APR 1789) and to observe *Atthanga Sila* Eight promises, on all no moon, half moon and full moon days during the Lent. Another order urged the people to continue observing these promises even after the Lent (ROB 21 Aug 1787). It was hoped that this Buddhist way of life would keep the people contented with their lot.

An order to copy the *Pitaka* was another important thing that a king tried to do as soon as he ascended the throne (ROB 30 Jun 1783). The main stay of Buddhism is the *Pitaka* Collection of the Teachings of the Buddha. One copy was to be written in gold ink, another in black ink and the third to be etched by stylus on palm leaf (ROB 6 Feb 1785, ROB 14 Dec 1785). Scribes were to do the *Pitaka* copying exclusively (ROB 30 Jun 1784, ROB 20 Sep 1785, ROB 25 Sep 1785, ROB 14 Dec 1785). There were employed in this project 100 men to do the copying, 50 men to prepare palm leaves to be used in copying and 12 overseers (ROB 25 Sep 1785). An editorial board of learned monks consisting of 20 *Ca Tan: Khyup* - Editors-in-Chief, 40 *Ca Tan: Editors*, 40 *Ca Ma* - Assistant Editors, were appointed to check the copies (ROB 5 Jul 1784). Punishment for failure to save the *Pitaka* from being destroyed in fire was death (ROB 12 Apr 1794). [Minister *Mahasirijeyasankram* took on loan a copy of *Pitaka* from the *Ba: gaya* teacher *Tipitakalankarasiridhajamahadhammarajadhirajaguru* and it was burnt in a fire. Both of them *Na Mrat Tu* , ex-minister, and *Na Kyoau Thwe:* , ex-monk, were executed.]

Missions were sent to *Srilanka* (ROB 29 May 1806) and to *Majjhimadesa* (ROB 20 Aug 1806) to get the *Pitaka* from these places too. Translations were made of works imported recently from India and *Srilanka* (ROB 3 Jul 1783). Orthography of *Mranma* was also prescribed (ROB 3 Jul 1783, ROB 14 Dec 1785) and only a round script was allowed to use. There was a Buddhist sect called *Joti* [which did not recognize the necessity of monks to teach the tenets of Buddhism] (ROB 15 Jul 1783, ROB 7 Jul 1783, ROB 8 Sep 1783). The heresy was once suppressed in the time of King *Mre Tu:* 1763-1776. When it was found in *Chan Phru Kywan:* area in 1783, the order was that there would be no punishment if the heretic promised to discard his faith. The king adopted the same attitude on the *Up Thup Dok Khya chon: Rahan* monks with hats soft and hard. [They were probably Mahayanists]. He said that if the community of monks agreed , they would be

allowed to remain monks when they declared that they would not continue using hats (ROB 7 May 1795). A monk called *Indasara* was accused of being a *Vidandvadi* Sophist, was ordered to leave the monkhood and his works entitled *Garudhamma Gambhira Mhat Cu* and *Culagandi* were burnt (ROB 6 Jul 1799).

With bestowing large gifts to successful candidates in the religious examinations the king encouraged monks and novices to learn the *Pitaka* (ROB 12 Mar 1787, ROB 24 May 1784). *Mahadan Wan* Officer of Religious Affairs, had to submit a biannual report on these examinations (ROB 8 Jul 1785). Relatives of a successful candidate had their names transferred from *Asan* register to *Mran*: register (ROB 27 Jul 1787). Examinations were held in three grades (ROB 8 Jul 1785) and the curriculum prescribed then (ROB 9 Oct 1787) was the same with that of the 17th century (ROB 8 May 1801, ROB 10 May 1801) and it remained almost the same with the one used today (ROB 9 Oct 1787). Results of the examination were given in order of merit and monthly provisions of rice, oil, salt, etc. were given to successful candidates and their teachers (ROB 8 Jul 1785). Courses were given in the *Vinaya* (ROB 12 Mar 1784) and examination on the *Vinaya* were conducted (ROB 24 May 1784). The king was of the opinion that a monk should prove himself worthy of monkhood by sitting for and passing this examination (ROB 17 Oct 1787). All *Guin*: *Khyup* Provincial Monk Leader, *Guin*: *Up* Local Monk Leader, and *Guin*: *Thok* Local Monk Assistant Leader, should set an example by taking this examination themselves (ROB 12 Oct 1787, ROB 28 Oct 1878). After second failure in this examination a monk shall have to leave the monkhood without exception (ROB 10 Mar 1782, ROB 23 Sep 1787, ROB 11 Oct 1787, ROB 17 Oct 1787).

Training monks on Buddhist missionary work was introduced (ROB 8 Jul 1785). *Lhwat Toau* made the list of places where the Buddhist missions would be sent (ROB 15 Jun 1784). The aim was high. The missionaries had to try and establish well the Religion at the place where they went (ROB 15 Jun 1784). Each provincial officer had to arrange the trip of the monks either from the capital city to his place or vice versa. Then he had to build a monastery and an ordination hall in his station (ROB 25 Jul 1787, ROB 3 Oct 1787). At the end of the Buddhist Lent a new batch of monks from the capital city would come to take the place of the old batch (ROB 3 Oct 1787, ROB 3 Jan 1788). In the capital city every senior officer had to support a monastery of a senior monk teacher and his students studying the *Pitaka* (ROB 20 Apr 1784, ROB 29 Apr 1784, ROB 2 Oct 1784, ROB 7 Oct 1784).

In constructing a religious building the donor of the building had to apply for permission to use certain decorations in the building from the king. Decorations would be more grotesque according to the social status of the donor. There was nothing unusual for a certain styles or type of the building was not allowed to everybody to use but to extend that idea on a religious building was simply absurd. Nevertheless we find many petitions for using some styles in a religious building and some petitions were refused (ROB 1 Feb 1668, ROB 5 May 1674) and in some cases a building might be pulled down (ROB 29 Jul 1679) or the donor as well as the *Pissuka* - architect, were punished for failure to have a prior sanction to use some styles in the building (ROB 2 Mar 1788, ROB 3 Mar 1788). There were petitions for

a decoration behind the throne of the Buddha image (1 Feb 1668, ROB 6 Oct 1668);  
 an entrance gate with decorations (ROB 1 Feb 1668);  
 four tiers of graduated roof (ROB 26 Mar 1674);  
 a platform fixed at a monastery to step off or on an elephant or a palanquin (ROB 5 May 1674);  
 a brick enclosure wall around a monastery (ROB 17 Jun 1674);  
 a brick stairway fixed in a monastery (ROB 17 Jun 1674);  
 three stairways in one monastery (ROB 4 Jan 1679);  
 a veranda going all around a monastery (ROB 16 Jan 1680);  
 wood carvings of exquisite designs for both exterior and interior decorations at a monastery (ROB 2 Sep 1653, ROB 11 Feb 1758);  
 five stairways in one monastery (ROB 11 Oct 1787);  
 repairing old pagodas (ROB 5 Nov 1787); and  
 gilding the entire pagoda (ROB 8 Sep 1787).

Among the petitioners for permission to use a certain type or style of architecture there was a chief queen (ROB 26 Mar 1674), and a crown prince (ROB 1 Jan 1760). A happy compromise was to apply for building a religious edifice on behalf of the king (ROB 17 Dec 1787, ROB 26 Dec 1787) and then there would be no problem as to what material or design could be used. There were *Pissuka* Architect (ROB 2 Mar 1788), *Laksama*: Carpenter, *Lup Lu* Craftsman, *Achoau* Overseer, and *Kam Kywe Rui*: Descendant of an old master in a craft (ROB 17 Nov 1816, ROB 15 Sep 1819) to do the constructions as desired. A permission was also necessary to build a *Sima* Monk Ordination Hall and it was best to mention in the petition that it would be built on behalf of the king because an ordination hall is always built only on land given to the religion and the king alone can rightfully give away land. An individual's ownership of land was in fact the king's permission to use a particular area given to a certain person and he was therefore not the real owner. When he wanted to give part of the land on which he was allowed to use for a *Sima* it was expedient to say that he would like to build the meeting hall of monks on behalf of the king (ROB 18 Jan 1835, ROB 2 OCT 1858, ROB 22 Oct 1858, ROB 5 Feb 1859, ROB 6 Feb 1859, ROB 2 Mar 1859, ROB 14 Sep 1865, ROB 20 May 1867).

There was a fund of religion under the *Wat Mre Wan* Officer of Glebe, kept at the *Ka Son*: *Mron Tuik* 3. In some glebe there were *An*: - Fisheries, and *Ku*: *Tui*, Ferries, from which dues were collected. A share from these dues was taken for maintenance of religious establishments and sent to the religious fund (ROB 30 Jul 1787, ROB 3 Jan 1788, ROB 5 Jan 1788). It is hard to reconcile the fact that tax from a fishery goes to religious funds. Perhaps it is of the same nature with the king prohibiting beef and liquor on the one hand and ignoring the issue of dried beef and liquor as ration to the armed men or allowing Chinese traders to carry liquor (ROB 30 Jan 1811) while prohibition was strictly enforced on the natives.

Festivals were almost exclusively Buddhist in name though offerings made to guardian spirits as part of the festival programme would be considered as nothing unusual. For instance, when a festival of the Buddha's tooth relic was held in front of *Lhwat Toau* there were also at the same time the *Maccharaja Paritta* recitations to prevent draught, *Kammavaca* recitations to stop an epidemic and offerings were made at the shrine of a guardian spirit called *Ton*

*Mran* , to avert all evils from fire to plague (ROB 21 Jul 1784, ROB 29 Jan 1788, ROB 10 May 1795, ROB 15 May 1795, ROB 15 Jun 1795). At the beginning of the Buddhist Lent, there was the *Ca Re: Tan Pwai* Drawing the lot to get a monk who would call at one's home for a meal (ROB 17 Jul 1787, ROB 25 Jul 1795). *Padesa Pan* Artificial trees with gifts for monks hanging on the branches, were sent to the monasteries with a procession of people singing and dancing (ROB 17 Jul 1787). Towards the end of the rainy season, there were boat races which also formed part of the programme in a pagoda festival (ROB 1 Sep 1806, ROB 6 Sep 1801). At the End of Buddhist Lent some monks were in real need of robes as theirs were no longer nice to use out of doors though they can now leave the monastery to which monks were confined during all the three months of rain (ROB 20 Oct 1787). The robe given then is called *Kathina Civara* Hard Robe. There were competitions then to make *Ma Sui: San Kan:* Instant Robe [made during one single night of the full moon day in *Tan Chon Mun* by going through all the processes of spinning, weaving and sewing until the cotton was made into a robe and put on the Buddha's image] (ROB 21 Oct 1806, ROB 5 Oct 1817). There was also the festival of the Buddha coming for alms with his eighty disciples (ROB 5 Oct 1806). A new style of the Buddha image called the *Dakkhinasakha* [Image made of] South Branch [of the Gaya Bodhi Tree] was introduced from Srilanka probably in the last quarter of the 18th century and there was a festival of this image (ROB 8 Mar 1788). In contrast to a light weight Buddha image called *Mam Bhura:* [Lacquer Image] (ROB 1 Jan 1760) a very heavy one weighing 11,368 viss [41,493.2 lbs / 4.6 tons] was cast of iron on 5 April 1803. The image was named *Candamuni* and annually in about September a festival was held at its temple (ROB 1 Sep 1806) and as part of the programme there were boat races. These boat races were in fact one of the last phases in the training course of men in the war boat service. Another strange religious festival was the festival of providing stoves in a temple. All *Mranma* capital cities viz. *Awa* , *Amarapura* and *Mantale:* are situated around 20. N Latitude and the minimum temperature in these places never went below 70.F. The king, however, ordered to have a fire burning to heat the temples in the morning in January (ROB 8 Jan 1788). Sandal wood, amber and the like were used in the stove (ROB 21 Jan 1788). [This festival is still in vogue at the *Mahamuni* temple in *Mantale:* ].

Any one who had reached the age of majority [after the nineteenth birthday for all Buddhists] he or she could become a *Bhikkhu* [Male Mendicant] or *Bhikkhuni* [Female Mendicant] if he or she was not suffering from incurable sicknesses or not trying to escape punishment for a crime or not evading debt payment. Now the king added another condition to bar people from becoming monks. None of his servants cannot become a monk and monks who accepted a king's servant in the community of monks would be punished (ROB 30 Mar 1810). On the other hand in his enthusiasm to keep only good monks in the Order of Buddhist monks, the king ordered that each monk shall have to undergo an interrogation on how he became a monk and who were the seniors who accepted him in the Order and how he was taught the Vinaya and trained in the way of a monk's life (ROB 13 Jul 1801, ROB 14 Jul 1801, ROB 15 Jul 1801). Subsequently some senior monks who had to leave the monkhood (ROB 20 Jul 1801, ROB 22 Jul 1801) were :

*Candamanju*



Nanasara  
Nandamala  
Pannaramsi  
Pannasiri and  
Manimanju.

Checks continued in the provinces (ROB 17 Oct 1805) and the king became more and more sceptical until he came to the conclusion that they were monks only in name (ROB 3 Oct 1806). He said that although the Buddha's Religion was believed to last 5,000 years after the death of the Buddha, there was no scriptural support to this statement and what really happened was that there was no Buddhism where no one was faithfully following the teachings of the Buddha (ROB 5 Oct 1806). To tell the truth the time had already arrived for the extinction of the Religion. There were five reasons for the extinction of the Buddha's Religion, viz.

- 1 there was no one who wanted to learn the *Pitaka*
- 2 there was no one who could explain the *Pitaka*
- 3 there was no one who could teach the *Pitaka*
- 4 there was no one among the students of the *Pitaka* who tried to know it better and
- 5 there was no desire to follow the teachings given in the *Pitaka*.

The teachers and students of Buddhism had reached a phase when no one properly understood the wisdom given in it and no one cared to put any part of the wisdom into practice and as such there was no hope of its survival unless the king took it in his own hands the task to salvage it. First he wanted the monks to know their own mistakes and find their own solutions. They should start with the investigation to find how much there were additions and omissions in the *Pitaka* now in use in this country as imported from Srilanka (ROB 22 Mar 1807). In the meanwhile a status quo was excusable (ROB 8 Nov 1807). He later suggested that if they could get a copy of the *Pitaka* from Magadha it might not have any 'adulterations' in it (ROB 10 Jul 1810). He told them his attitude on the problem by stating four important points (ROB 3 Dec 1807):

- 1 He was sure that the *Pitaka* now in use had in it many later additions with possibly many omissions.
- 2 He quoted a few examples to show the mistakes made by old teachers in the translation of *Pali* into *Mranma* in their attempt to explain the *Pitaka*.
- 3 He observed the fact that the Buddha got no permission from anyone to become a mendicant and following his example a man need no ceremony to become a monk if he was quite determined to renounce the world.
- 4 He pointed out that if a man wanted to observe *Sila* he needed no monk's help to acquire it or keep it; he needed only a firm determination of his own to keep it. [Pa Tum Man: Ayu Wada collected on 23 May 1818 and appended to ROB 22 Mar 1807]

The king wanted the monks to meet and talk about the questions that he had raised (ROB 27 Dec 1807, ROB 7 Jan 1811, ROB 12 Jan 1811, ROB 13 Jan 1811, ROB 16 Jan 1811, ROB 30 Jan 1811, ROB 21 Oct 1811, ROB 20 Dec 1811, ROB 26 Dec 1811, ROB 30 Dec 1811).

He was sure that the *Buddhaghosa* version of the *Pitaka* needed revision (ROB 30 Dec 1811). Between the *Suttanta* and the *Vinaya* he also wanted the monks to say which is more important or which comes first (ROB 29 Jun 1812).

A mission from Srilanka came to ask *Mranma* help in their religious reformation movement. Tãhe king replied that *Mranma* was in no position to do that because it had its own problems which had not been solved yet (ROB 29 Jul 1812). The king insisted that a man needed no one's approval or permission if he wanted to become a begger (ROB 9 Aug 1812) and he advised the monks to study the *Anagatabhaya Suttanta* all over again to realize his point in the argument (ROB 25 Aug 1812). In fact the king was more advanced in his views than his contemporaries but later he recognized the fact that both monks and men were not ready for sweeping changes. So finally he said that they could live again in their old ways (ROB 3 Nov 1807) and in sarcasm he said they could even go further back to the time of *Rhe: Pwai Kyon: Bhun : Kri:* Ancient Monks of a Monastery with a Pantheon of Gods (ROB 23 Jul 1813). Those monks indulged in :

<i>Kwan: Thui:</i>	Tattooing the Body
<i>Can Ti:</i>	Beating the Drum
<i>Che: Re:</i>	Painting the Face
<i>Du: Kut Tan</i>	Hanging Robe from Shoulder
<i>Be Dan Ho</i>	Reading Horoscope
<i>Masa Luik</i>	Burying the Dead
<i>Mi: Nhak</i>	Burning Incense or Turning the Lantern
<i>Ran Phwai,</i>	- Binding the Breast
<i>Lak Phwe, Thui:</i>	Boxing
<i>Lhe Lhoau</i>	Boat Racing
<i>Sarapat Chon:</i>	Putting on Cap
<i>Up Thuo Chon:</i>	Putting on Hat

The king continued to persuade the people to accept his way of thinking on religious affairs but finally he admitted defeat.

In the Golden City as well as in the towns and villages of the kingdom, the king had for over twenty years tried to teach how to fix the Buddhist sabbath days so that they would agree with the religious texts; on the other hand the king pointed out where *Mranma* translation of some (*Pali*) words and phrases in some of the *Mranma* version of the Buddhist works are wrong and he told the learned monks to discuss these points and correct them; the monks were of no help (as they were most reluctant to correct the works left by their teachers); both monks and men wanted to ignore these mistakes and to go on as before with neither correction nor improvement.

- Order: (1) The Buddhist Sabbaths shall be fixed as it had been done years before without correction.
- (2) Resume the annual religious examinations, ordination services, novitiations ceremonies and dedication or donation ceremonies as before.
- (3) Go to monasteries as before to ask for and to keep the *Sila* though anybody could do it without the help of the monks.
- (4) Send this Order to all provincial chiefs.

This Order was passed on 29 June 1816 and proclaimed by *Na Pa Si*, Liaison Officer.

The king went back to the old practice of asking the people to live a good Buddhist way of life like this :

Order: During the Buddhist Lent, everyone shall not even think of doing the following ten ( *Akusalakammamatha* Courses of Immoral Act), viz.

Life-taking

Theft

Sensual Misbehaviour

Lying

Slender

Harsh Language

Frivolous Talk

Covetousness

Ill- will and

Wrong views ;

Those who would indulge in these courses of immoral act will never be able to free themselves from (*Samsara* ) and those who abstain from doing them will attain nirvana.

This Order was passed on 29 May 1817 and proclaimed by *Jeya Singhasu* , Liaison Officer-cum-Chief of Caduceus Bearers; copy this Order in a *Ywan: Bhon Purapuik* Black Book with Lacquered Cover, and after having it carried on an elephant, read it at all busy road junctions inside the capital city and outside it while people with offerings in their hands listen.

The year's calendar was another problem that was always a worry to *Mranma* kings. Because *Mranma* calendar was (and still is) a lunar calendar and any problem regarding the phase of moon by which the monks kept their sabbaths was decided by the king (ROB 14 Mar 1574). As a matter of fact he had to appoint the calendar committee and he had to pass an order to use the calendar of each year submitted by that committee. An intercalary month occurred in every third year (ROB 15 Nov 1807). Instead of having a twenty nine day month and a thirty day month alternately, a year having an intercalary month would have either four thirty day months in succession or two thirty day months in succession. With the advice of the Supreme Leader of the Buddha's Religion the king had to decide that a particular year would be *Wa Kri:* - a year of four thirty day months in succession (ROB 8 Mar 1788, ROB 16 Nov 1807) or *Wa Nay* a year of two thirty day months in succession (ROB 30 Mar 1598). Then he also had to determine when the Buddhist Lent begun and terminated in each year. Another interesting thing about the calendar was that there was a *Sankram Ca* - Forecast of Good and Evil Things of the Year, attached to it (ROB 12 Jun 1801, ROB 11 Aug 1806). This note also told the cultivators the time to plough, to grow and to harvest (ROB 16 May 1795) and ways to avert drought, flood, and storm. To appease the guardian spirits for good harvest the king himself had to do the *Lay Thwan Mangala* - Royal Ploughing Ceremony, each year (ROB 28 Apr 1810). Sometimes astrological calculations would show that the period of prosperity at the present capital city was over and suggested the king to abandon it or the continued use of the present era would start disasters in the kingdom and advised the king to begin a new era (ROB 4 Feb 1574). King *Pa Tum* 1782-1819 started two things in the use of calendar. After the Chinese he started calling each year by the number of years he had reigned. He started it on his twenty first year and continued it right down to the thirty seventh when he died (on 5 June 1819). He also introduced the *Pum Toau Prakkhadin* King's Own Calendar (ROB 10 May 1801, ROB 28 May 1801). The new calendar used a nine hundred and ninety

day cycle. It meant that each month had thirty days and there were two twelve month years and one thirteen month year in each cycle. The new year and the Buddhist Lent were fixed by the solar calendar (ROB 17 Jun 1801). A committee headed by the Supreme Leader of the Buddha's Religion was appointed to teach the monks the use of the new calendar (ROB 26 Jun 1801) and an order was passed to punish anyone who said ill of it (ROB 15 Jul 1801). All government records were to use it (ROB 20 Oct 1806). The attempt however was a failure. He acknowledged it and said that the old calendar was in use again (ROB 6 Nov 1807) though he continued using it in all state records (ROB 13 Mar 1811).

Religious establishments in *Pu Gam* period [11th-13th century AD] had servants for musical entertainments, viz.

<i>Kakhriy San</i> (Pl. 1512, Pl. 314, Pl. 10223, Pl. 3914)	Dancer
<i>Khara San</i> (Pl. 6822)	Trumpeter
<i>Khyu</i> (Pl. 13813)	Castanet
<i>Khwak Khwan San</i> (Pl. 10a18, Pl. 1719, Pl. 13810,36)	Cymbal player
<i>Can San</i> (Pl. 98, Pl. 10a16,17,20,,22, Pl. 1511, Pl. 13830)	Drummer
<i>Candra San</i> (Pl. 859)	?Dulcimer player
<i>Con San</i> (Pl. 8121, Pl. 26536, Pl. 396b18)	Harpist
<i>Nhan San</i> (Pl. 8121, Pl. 396b18)	Trumpeter
<i>Tapuiw</i> (Pl. 367a5)	Horn
<i>Naran Cra San</i> (Pl. 1388,31,33)	Wind Instrument player
<i>Non Nan San</i> (Pl.1719, Pl. 367a5)	Bell player
<i>Pasa San</i> (Pl. 10a16, Pl. 311, Pl. 103a25, Pl. 13810, Pl.1387a3)	Side Drum player
<i>Pantya</i> (Pl. 58,10,15, Pl. 96, Pl. 10a19,21)	Nautch
<i>Saro San</i> (Pl. 387a3)	Violinist, and
<i>Sikhran San</i> (Pl. 318, Pl. 859, Pl. 421b4)	Singer.

The stone inscriptions of the 16th century give another list of musicians, etc. We notice slight change in some names though the musical instruments would remain almost the same.

<i>Kakhre San Ma</i> (list 104520, List 105067)	Female dancer
<i>Kre: Pat San Kre: Pat Ti:</i> (List 1014b42, <i>Kranikan A 28</i> )	Brass Drums player
<i>Con: Ti:</i> (List 963b34)	Harpist
<i>Chuin: Wuin: Ti:</i> (List 1014b40, <i>Kranikan A 28</i> )	Series of Leather Drums
<i>Pat Ma Ti:</i> ( <i>Kranikan A 28</i> )	Big Drum player player
<i>Pantya</i> (list 963b52, List 1014b40)	Nautch
<i>Lan Khwan: San</i> (List 1014b40)	Cymbals player
<i>Sare Pat San</i> (List 1014b40, <i>Kranikan A 28</i> )	Ring of Leather Drums
<i>Si Khyan : San</i> (List 104519)	Singer player and

A royal order (ROB 12 Jan 1654) gives the nationalities of those who entertained with music and dance as :

*Ka San:* [Cassay]  
*Kula:* [Indian]  
*Mranma*  
*Mwan*  
*Yui:daya:* [Ayut'ia]  
*Ywan:* [Chiangmai]  
*Rham:*

Brahmins were *Hu; Ra:* (Pali *Hora* ) meaning astrologers . They came from India to the land known later as *Mranma* from about the beginning of the Christian era and archaeological evidences show that Brahmanism was in *Mranma* before Buddhism. Kings used them as astrologers and conduct ceremonies. Most of them were addressed with a prefix *Pannarhi* [Panditta] to their names (ROB 31 Mar 1853, ROB 10Jan 1857). Such Brahmins were all Visnavites (ROB 9 Feb 1824, ROB 19 May 1839, ROB 28 Sep 1839, ROB 6 Nov 1839). There were also Sivites (ROB 17 Sep 1787, ROB 24 Apr 1794, ROB 19 Nov 1827, ROB 28 Sep 1839). Later some Brahmans came through Manipur and *Rakhuin* . Many astrological works were imported from India and Brahmins also came from Beneres (ROB 4 May 1810). A few monks learnt astrology and became experts too. Once a learned *Mranma* monk said that the Brahmins were not really good in astrology as they were supposed to be (ROB 4 Feb 1574) because they supported the king to build a new palace though astrological calculations did not support it. We have one record which mentions that the king's sister [later chief queen of King *Man: Tum:* ) learnt astrology from a Brahmin (ROB 12 Dec 1846). There was one supposition that the *Rhac Pa: Punna:* Eight Member Brahmins, arrived in *Hamsawati* from the time of King *Ramadhipati* 1472-1492 (ROB 1 Apr 1784) and their duties were to acquire things necessary for ceremonies, to conduct the ceremonies and to consecrate various things of everyday use for the king<sup>5</sup>. But various names given to them in some royal orders suggest the nature of work that they did. The names were :

<i>Con: Ti: punna:</i> (ROB 5 Jun 1789)	Brahmin playing harp
<i>Chatta</i> (ROB 4 Feb 1787, ROB 19 Jan 1811)	(?Brahmin Sudra/ barber)
<i>Tayo Thui:</i> ( <i>punna:</i> ) (ROB 19 Feb 1789)	(Brahmin) playing violin
<i>Purit Rwat punna:</i> (ROB 19 Feb 1789, ROB 5 Jun 1789)	Brahmin chanting verses
<i>Man Ca Re: punna</i> (ROB 19 Feb 1789)	Brahmin copying verses
<i>Rhacpa: punna:</i> (ROB 19 Feb 1789, ROB 5 Jun 1789)	Brahmin conducting ceremonies
<i>Arhe, Mrui, Nat Pujoau punna :</i> (ROB 19 Feb 1789, ROB 5 Jun 1789)	Brahmin leading the Ceremony of East Town God Offering
<i>An: Re: punna:</i> (ROB 5 Jun 1789)	Brahmins writing magic square

Each one shall serve in whatever capacity that they were good. Annually they celebrated the Candi Devi festival (ROB 17 Sep 1787, ROB 24 Apr 1794). They were however never told to conduct a ceremony of local guardian spirits (ROB 1 Apr 1784, ROB 6 Oct 1786). They had *Ca Lway* Shoulder Threads, as caste mark and to remind them to do their own work well (ROB 3 Jun 1784). Their leader would be referred to as *Punna Sasana Puin* (ROB 19 Jan 1811) but usually he was called *Punna: Akri:* or *Punna: Wan.* One *Muni Ram* was appointed their *Akri:* Senior Man (ROB 8 Jun 1789). Another one of their leaders had the title *Maharajindadhammarajaguru* . He had forty one families under him (ROB 25 Jul 17950) and he lived in a house built for him by the king (ROB 2 May 1810). Some would even receive a town as fief (ROB 15 Jul 1801) or a village (ROB 29 Aug 1819). But all of them were given *Ne Mre* Land to build homes and live together (ROB 4 Sep 1853). Any Brahmin who forget his Brahmin duties would be punished and to marry a woman below his caste was also considered a sin or a crime (ROB 4 Jun 1799). Six Brahmins were once dedicated as pagoda slaves (ROB

21 Jun 1799) and some became menial labourers collecting fodder of elephants (ROB 21 Jun 1799). But they were restored to their positions three years later (ROB 30 Aug 1802). It was also learnt that in *Rakhuin* no Brahmin in the king's service was ever turned into a pagoda slave (ROB 3 Jan 1822). A Brahmin was once exiled to an area of deep forest (ROB 7 Dec 856). There was also an officer called *Punna Wan* (ROB 24 Mar 1806). *Lakwai Siri Kyoau Than*, *Punna Wan* was dismissed and his place was given to *Aditya Na Lha*, Leader of Eight Member Brahmin, with authority to conduct all Brahmin affairs of *Sumangala Dumangala* [Happiness or Sorrow] (ROB 24 Mar 1806). Once there was a petition that mentioned that *Punna: Up* Brahmin-in-Charge, was unpopular and many Brahmins did not like to live under him (ROB 9 May 1858). In the presence of a prince a Brahmin was not supposed to put his hands in a prayer attitude. He had to open his hands and that would be taken as giving enough respect to the prince (ROB 2 May 1810). A list of Brahmins grouped by their caste viz. *Brahmana*, *Khatra*, *Bishya* and *Sudra* was made in 1811 (ROB 19 Jan 1811, ROB 17 Feb 1811) and insignias for them were defined (ROB 20 Mar 1811). Brahman gods and goddesses like Candi, Mahapinnai (Ganesa), Sakanta, etc. were held in high esteem at the *Mranma* court and annually the festivals of these deities were celebrated. A statue of *Kapilamuni* the *Risi* was imported from India (ROB 21 Jun 1812) and was put in a separate shrine of bricks in the compound of *Rhwe Kwan Up* pagoda, *Amarapura* and the king came to pay homage to it (ROB 2 Jul 1812). There was also the ceremony of paying homage to another *Risi Aggampati* (ROB 3 Jul 1812, ROB 8 Aug 1817). To seek allies to form a sort of anti-English pact, the king sent missions to India under the cover story of seeking ancient and rare books on astrology, history, law, medicine, etc. and most of these missions were led by Brahmins (ROB 18 Feb 1817).

#### Notes

- 1 *Kun*: III, 1967 Reprint, pp. 656-663
- 2 *Kun*: II, 1967 Reprint, p. 88
- 3 *Tan, Wo* 1975, p. 60
- 4 *Kun*: II, 1967 Reprint, p. 130
- 5 *Tan, Up* II, 1932, S 192, p. 42
- 6 *Tan, Up* II, 1932, S 193, p. 46